

2003

Positive orientation towards the vernacular among the Talysh of Sumgayit

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Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session: Vol. 47 , Article 5.
DOI: 10.31356/silwp.vol47.05
Available at: <https://commons.und.edu/sil-work-papers/vol47/iss1/5>

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POSITIVE ORIENTATION TOWARDS THE VERNACULAR AMONG THE TALYSH
OF SUMGAYIT

by

Calvin F. Tiessen

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota

August

2003

This thesis, submitted by Calvin F. Tiessen in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

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This thesis meets the standards for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota and is hereby approved.

Dean of the Graduate School

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Department Linguistics

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express thanks to Dr. John M. Clifton, advisor, mentor and friend, to my thesis committee members Dr. Mark Karan and Dr. David Marshall, and to the many Talysh individuals without whom this research would not have been possible.

To Novruz Ali Mammedov

ABSTRACT

This thesis looks at the identification of positive vernacular orientation in the Talysh community of the city of Sumgayit, for the purpose of gaining a greater understanding of its causes. Positive vernacular orientation is defined as exhibition of a preferred status for the vernacular in sociolinguistic behaviour. Positive vernacular orientation is described in three areas of sociolinguistic behaviour: patterns of vernacular language use, vernacular language proficiency and frequency of vernacular-speaking individuals in social networks. Data was collected through personal interviews. The questionnaires for these interviews were developed using a qualitative-relational research approach. The description of positive vernacular orientation takes the form of a criteria-based typology of which an analysis of influential factors is ultimately made. This analysis of influential factors demonstrates the interaction between positive vernacular orientation as described in the typology and the contextual elements of the family, socio-economic dynamics and individual attitudes.

A total of 13 types of individuals demonstrating positive vernacular orientation are identified. Variation in vernacular orientation is shown to pattern itself according to differences in generation and time of arrival or birth in Sumgayit. The earlier individuals arrived or were born in Sumgayit, the more likely they are to demonstrate positive vernacular orientation in their sociolinguistic behaviour. As well, the closer individuals are to first generation, the more likely they are to demonstrate positive vernacular orientation in their sociolinguistic behaviour. Positive vernacular

orientation is shown to be strongest among first generation individuals who arrived in Sumgayit before 1965. Positive vernacular orientation is shown to be weakest in third generation individuals born after 1991.

Talysh use in the home during an individual's childhood; economic, social and circumstantial factors in an individual's life; and ethnolinguistic identity are presented as influential in producing positive vernacular orientation in an individual's sociolinguistic behaviour.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Azerbaijan today provides unique insights into the interplay between the maintenance of less-commonly-spoken languages and the development of a state language. Of particular interest in this interplay are urban areas in which ethno-linguistic variety is high and change in all areas of life is constant. Very little published research, particularly in English, has been done on the less numerous ethnic groups living in Azerbaijan's urban areas. Even less has been published on the unique research concerns presented by these urban areas. This study is a response to the need presented by the scarcity of such research.

The thesis describes patterns of vernacular orientation in the Talysh community of the city of Sumgayit, Azerbaijan's third largest urban centre. This is the first time the sociolinguistic behaviour of the Talysh in the context of the city of Sumgayit has ever been studied. It is also the first time that the methods employed by this thesis have been applied to the study of such a community. Both the results and the methods employed are significant in their contributions. The analyses made by this study are based on data collected under the auspices of the North Eurasia Group of SIL International in 2001.

In this thesis, positive vernacular orientation is defined as exhibition of a preferred status for the vernacular in sociolinguistic behaviour. There are three parts to this definition:

- (a) Positive vernacular orientation is a characteristic which is exhibited by an individual.
- (b) This exhibited characteristic reveals a preferred status for the vernacular.
- (c) This preferred status is revealed in sociolinguistic behaviour.

Vernacular orientation is one element in a sociolinguistic process referred to by numerous terms: language maintenance, language shift, language attrition, language diversification, language contact, code-switching and code-mixing among others. All of these terms refer to sociolinguistic change in the role of a language in the face of its co-existence with other languages in a social setting. The study of vernacular orientation fits into the study of this process of change. It can be seen as a measure of one end of this process, the role of the vernacular.

This thesis looks at the identification of positive vernacular orientation in a community for the purpose of gaining a greater understanding of the factors which contribute to it. Three elements are involved in this endeavour: community, identification of vernacular orientation in a community and the process of analyzing positive vernacular orientation to ascertain its causes. Chapters 2-7 of this thesis centre on various aspects of each of these concepts within the context of the Talysh community of Sumgayit.

Chapter Two, "The Sociolinguistic Context of the Talysh Community of Sumgayit", provides background information on the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Talysh people, the history of Talysh migration, the city of Sumgayit and the Talysh community of Sumgayit.

Chapter Three, "A Qualitative-Relational Approach to the Research Context", introduces the methodological framework used to gather the research data. It gives a rationale for the research approach which this study takes and describes the

distinctives of the research methods in two areas: (a) subject selection and (b) data collection.

Chapter Four, “The Sociolinguistic Profiles: Identifying Positive Vernacular Orientation”, looks at how the research process identified positive vernacular orientation in three areas: patterns of vernacular language use, vernacular language proficiency and frequency of vernacular-speaking individuals in social networks. A description of each of these areas of measurement is given, including their historical definition and how they were studied.

Chapter Five, “Describing Positive Vernacular Orientation Typologically: An Analytical Method”, presents the process by which patterns of vernacular orientation were analyzed. Two concepts are introduced in this chapter: criteria-based typological description of sociolinguistic variation and analysis of factors influencing typological variation.

Chapter Six, “A Typology of Positive Vernacular Orientation Among the Talysh of Sumgayit”, ties together the profiling methods described in chapter four and the process of typological analysis outlined in chapter five. Using the criteria-based typology of chapter five a typology of the Talysh community of Sumgayit is constructed. This typology describes patterns of positive vernacular orientation in each of the three areas introduced in chapter four: patterns of vernacular language use, vernacular language proficiency and frequency of vernacular-speaking individuals in social networks.

In Chapter Seven, “An Analysis of Factors Influencing Typological Variation in the Talysh Community of Sumgayit”, several influences are identified which play a role in producing the patterns of positive vernacular orientation which are summarized in chapter six. Descriptions of the nature of these influences are given.

The conclusion to this thesis addresses a number of questions which arise from the research. These include questions concerning the reasons why the patterns of vernacular orientation among the Talysh of Sumgayit are different from the patterns found among other minority groups in Sumgayit. On the basis of what has been learned from this research, considerations for future research are also discussed.

There are five appendices which follow the body of this thesis. The first 4 are the interview schedules used for data collection. The fifth is a list of interview subject types from whom information was gathered.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT OF THE TALYSH COMMUNITY OF SUMGAYIT

This chapter seeks to describe the Talysh community of Sumgayit in the context of its greater sociolinguistic background. Five areas of interest are considered: (a) sociolinguistic considerations within the nation of Azerbaijan, (b) the sociolinguistic background of the Talysh people, (c) the nature of Talysh migration, (d) sociolinguistic considerations with the city of Sumgayit and (e) the sociolinguistic context within which the Talysh community of Sumgayit has developed and currently exists. This description provides an understanding of the research context within which the Talysh community of Sumgayit functions, allowing for the construction of an appropriate research methodology as presented in chapter two.

2.1 The Sociolinguistic Context of Azerbaijan

Azerbaijan is a nation of contrasts. The new Republic of Azerbaijan, formed in the aftermath of the dismantlement of the Soviet Union in December of 1991 is very different from the Azerbaijan of the 18th and 19th centuries over which the shahs of Persia and the czars of Russia battled for supremacy. Many of the realities of its culturo-political context, however, hark back to its much older roots. Four basic contextual issues define Azerbaijan today: (a) multi-ethnicity, (b) economic restructuring, (c) urbanization, and (d) migration. Each of these issues has historical as well as modern roots.

Azerbaijan is home to over a dozen indigenous ethnicities whose historical presence in the region have left a rich cultural and linguistic legacy. Some of these are uniquely indigenous to Azerbaijan while others are also indigenous to the neighbouring countries of Russia, Georgia, Armenia and Iran. Much of this multi-ethnicity is due to Azerbaijan's geographic location. It is often referred to as the bridge between Asia and Europe, the East and the West. It was once part of the Silk Road, has been part of several of the world's great empires and still today plays a major role in regional politics. Figure 1 shows Azerbaijan in the geographic context of its region.



Figure 1: Azerbaijan in its Geographical Context¹

According to the 2001 reports of the State Statistical Committee of the Republic of Azerbaijan, approximately 80% of Azerbaijan's population of 8.5 million is ethnically Azerbaijani, a Turkic people. The remaining 20% represents a mixture of ethnolinguistic backgrounds: Caucasian, Iranian, and Indo-European.

¹ Map from Microsoft Corporation ©2000.

The republic of Azerbaijan has seen large-scale economic restructuring in its 11 years of post-Soviet history. Much of this restructuring has been centred around the complex process of privatizing the agricultural sector and the revitalization of the industrial sector as the nation moves into a market economy. Oil is currently driving this economic restructuring. This is not a new phenomenon for the republic, but it has taken on new importance, as it has become essentially the only source for foreign currency. Instead of being one of several key market sectors, it has come to represent Azerbaijan's immediate future.²

Azerbaijan's rural population has traditionally been strongly agriculturally based. In the Soviet centralized economy Azerbaijan provided vast amounts of produce for the system. With the demise of collective farms and lack of adequate agricultural restructuring, the recovery of the agricultural sector has been slow. This has contributed to a rise in urbanization and migration.

Azerbaijan's urban population has grown in the last 20 years. In 1980, 53% of the country's population lived in urban areas. This has risen to a reported 57% in 1999.³ Most of this growth has been concentrated in the metropolitan Baku area, which includes Sumgayit. As seen in Table 1, Azerbaijan's urban growth has been lower than that of its immediate neighbours in the Caspian and Caucuses area, but significantly higher than that of other CIS Central Asian nations.

² The economic importance of oil defined the 20th century for Azerbaijan. At the turn of the century Baku was one of Europe's leading sources of oil, attracting investment and development in the petroleum sector from many western European nations. Up until the end of the second world war Azerbaijan was the Soviet Union's main source of oil, providing 70% of its total supply. Later, Azerbaijan gave way to Siberia as the leading regional source of oil. However, world attention has been drawn to potential oil fields in the Caspian in recent years. The possibility of large fields of untapped oil and gas reserves has brought in some of the major players in the oil market. The verdict is still uncertain concerning Azerbaijan's return as one of the world's major sources of oil. Government hopes, however, are focused on development of Azerbaijan's potential in the global petroleum market.

³ Statistics on urbanization trends are based on United Nations (2001a).

Table 1: Statistics for Urban Populations

	Millions			% of population		
	1980	1999	Growth	1980	1999	Growth
Tajikistan	1.4	1.7	0.3	34	28	-6%
Kyrgystan	1.4	1.6	0.2	38	34	-4%
Uzbekistan	6.5	9.1	2.6	41	37	-4%
Turkmenistan	1.3	2.1	0.8	47	45	-2%
Kazakhstan	8.0	8.4	0.4	54	56	+2%
Azerbaijan	3.3	4.5	1.2	53	57	+4%
Georgia	2.6	3.3	0.7	52	60	+8%
Iran	19.7	39.7	20	50	63	+13%
Armenia	2.0	2.7	0.7	66	70	+4%
Russia	97	113.1	16.1	70	77	+7%

Urbanization is not the only source of population movement in the republic. Azerbaijan's struggle with Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh and the Lachin corridor has produced significant refugee problems. According to the latest UNHCR (1999) count there are 1 million refugees and internationally displaced persons (IDP) in Azerbaijan. Some 700,000 refugees are from Azerbaijan's occupied districts, some 250,000 refugees have been deported from Armenia and some 50,000 Azerbaijani refugees have come from Central Asia.⁴ Most of these refugees have moved into or around major urban centres in Azerbaijan, particularly those centres on the Absheron Peninsula in and around metropolitan Baku.

Economic hardship, urbanization and political upheaval have all created high levels of migration in Azerbaijan. Most of the migration over the last 5 or 6 years has been out of the country. That within the country is often to urban centres. Previous research indicates that migration patterns may be as high as 25% among men between the ages of 18 and 40.⁵ Much of this migration is to Russia in search of employment.

⁴ These estimates are taken from the UNHCR (1999). Estimates vary from agency to agency.

⁵ These estimates are based on information gathered from two sources during the period of 1999-2001: (a) interviews conducted with district governors, mayors of major district population centres and district

2.2 The Sociolinguistic Background of the Talysh People

The Talysh language is a member of the northwest group of Iranian languages. Historically, the language and its people can be traced through the middle Iranian period back to the ancient Medes. Talysh refer to themselves and their language as *Tolish*. The origin of the name *Tolish* is not clear but is likely quite old, predating the migration of the Iranian peoples to the southwestern shores of the Caspian. In western literature the people and the language are sometimes referred to as *Talish* or *Talesh*.

Northern Talysh is one of three major dialects of Talysh, distinguishing itself from Central and Southern Talysh not only geographically but culturally and linguistically as well. Speakers of Northern Talysh are found almost exclusively in the Republic of Azerbaijan but can also be found in the neighbouring regions of Iran, along the Caspian Sea in the Province of Gilan. Figure 2 shows the areas of Azerbaijan and Iran where the Talysh have traditionally lived.

The varieties of Talysh spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan are best described as speech varieties rather than dialects. Four speech varieties are generally identified on the basis of phonetic and lexical differences. These are labeled according to the four major political districts in the Talysh region: Astara, Lenkaran, Lerik and Masalli.⁶

In the Republic of Azerbaijan most Talysh live in a region which stretches from the western bank of the Vilaj River in the north to the Iranian border in the south

statistical office directors of many of Azerbaijan's districts and (b) extensive personal interviews conducted with urban and rural individuals in these districts. No official publication of these estimates has been produced to date.

⁶ The differences between the varieties are minimal at the phonetic level (Mammedov 1971) and at the lexical level (Pireiko 1976, Rastorgueva 1991). Mammedov (1971) suggests a more useful dialectal distinction is one between the varieties spoken in the mountains and those spoken in the plains. In addition, he identifies the influence of other speech communities in the Talysh region on the varieties of Talysh.

and from the Caspian Sea in the east to the Iranian border in the west. This region covers the five political districts of Astara, Lenkaran, Lerik, Masalli and Yardimli.

Figure 3 shows these areas (marked by the inner box) in the context of the greater geography of Azerbaijan.



Figure 2 The Talysh Regions of Azerbaijan and Iran⁷

In the three southernmost districts of Lenkaran, Lerik and Astara, Talysh make up more than ninety-five percent of the rural population.⁸ Within these five districts there are over 350 Talysh villages and towns. In recent years, the Talysh have also settled in other parts of the Republic. Pockets of Talysh can be found in some districts south of the Kur river: Bilasuvar, Neftchala and Calilabad. Talysh can be found. Large numbers of Talysh have also moved into the urban surroundings of the capital, Baku. The cities of Bina and Sumgayit in particular have seen an influx of Talysh population.

⁷ Map from www.tavaleh.com.

⁸ The proportion of non-Talysh population to Talysh in the cities of Lenkaran and Astara is much higher. In Lenkaran, as much as 30-40% of the population is non-Talysh.



Figure 3: The Traditional Talysh Districts of Azerbaijan⁹

Recent publications on Northern Talysh report upwards of 100,000 Talysh in the Republic of Azerbaijan (Rastorgueva 1991). Personal research, however, has led to a much higher estimate, closer to 500,000 Talysh in Azerbaijan.¹⁰ Of these it is estimated that close to 400,000 live in the districts of Astara, Lenkeran, Lerik, Masalli and Yardimli.

The socio-linguistic situation of the Talysh can best be described as multi-lingual and in many ways, multi-cultural. Most scholars since Miller (1953) have reported a high level of bilingualism in Talysh and Azerbaijani among the Talysh

⁹ Map from Lonely Planet ©2000.

¹⁰ This estimate is based on interviews conducted from 1999 to 2001 with government officials in each of the districts of Azerbaijan where significant numbers of Talysh live. This is still a conservative estimate compared to some. The Ethnologue (Grimes 2002) estimates 800,000–1,000,000 individuals of Talysh ethnicity in the Republic of Azerbaijan as of 1996. This higher estimate is similar to self-estimates made by the Talysh of Azerbaijan.

population as a whole (Pireiko 1976, Isaev 1979, Rastorgueva 1991).¹¹ Two significant influences on the Talysh from the greater Azerbaijani context have been education and media. Education for the Talysh has been in Azerbaijani since early in the Soviet period. Media television, radio and printed media, has been mostly in Azerbaijani as well.

During the Soviet period (1920-1992), Russian language influence was felt in several circles. All young men were required to serve for 2-4 years in the Soviet armed forces. This generally involved service outside of Azerbaijan. The language of the armed forces was Russian. From an economic standpoint, the Talysh region was important for the Soviet Union. With its centre in Lenkaran, the fourth largest city in Azerbaijan and long an important cultural centre for the Talysh, the region provided significant amounts of produce (fruits, vegetables, tea, grains and meat). Bordering on Iran, the region also played an important political role. The armed forces base in Lenkaran was one of the largest in the Caucasus. These factors brought the Talysh region into close contact on many levels with the outside world. In spite of what may be assumed, however, Russian, the language of wider communication, especially in the areas of politics and economics, still remained secondary to Azerbaijani in the Talysh region.¹²

Several factors have played a role in establishing identifiably different socio-linguistic sectors of the Talysh population. The first to identify these was Miller (1953) in his delineation of the Talysh region into the three cultural-geographic areas of the coastal lowlands, the low-mountain woodlands and the high mountains. Since

¹¹ Miller (1953) reports that the more remote sectors of the population at the time of his writing had low levels of Azerbaijani proficiency and in many cases, especially among the female and elderly population, no proficiency at all.

¹² Wegge (1996) reports that 5% of the Talysh population speaks Russian.

Miller, the distinction has generally been refined to the simple lowland/mountain dichotomy (Mammedov 1971; Pireiko 1978; Kolga, Tonurist, Vaba and Viikberg 1991). This is quite workable as the central low-mountain woodlands area is more or less a transition between the two extremes and thus can simply be described as somewhere in between the two, socio-linguistically.

Two major differences can be identified between the lowlands and the mountains. The first is religious orientation. The population of the mountain areas is decidedly Sunni Muslim while the population of the lowlands is mostly Shiite. As Mammedov (1971) points out, religious orientation ties in closely with geographic and linguistic differentiation. The most pronounced differences linguistically can be found between the lowlands and the mountains. This is supported by Pireiko (1976) in her own assessment.

The second difference is in the social situations of the two areas. The economic situation in the lowland area is much better than that in the mountains. This is due to the much higher level of contact which the lowlands have with the outside world and ease of access to social facilities. The lowland economy is highly agricultural with the basic crops of rice and tea dominating while the mountain area lives mostly off of livestock and the growing of grains (Miller 1953, Kolga, Tonurist, Vaba and Viikberg 1991). The lowlands have a much higher population density and their multi-cultural make-up due to inter-marriage and economic interaction is higher as well.

2.3 A History of Talysh Migration

Prior to the Soviet period the Talysh were not a migratory people. They did practice nomadic movement within the region but the region was generally well-defined. Livestock herders traditionally spent winters on the plains of the Caspian

basin and summers in the Talysh mountains. This continued even during the Soviet period. During the Soviet period, however, army service, employment and several periods of government induced deportation produced a significant amount of migration. This migration was to urban centres.

Talysh migration increased significantly during and following World War II when Soviet militarization and industrialization policies rapidly developed. Resettlement following military service was generally beyond the borders of Azerbaijan, then an autonomous republic. Migration related to Soviet industrialization, however, resulted in large numbers of Talysh moving to urban centres within Azerbaijan.

Today, the sole reason for Talysh migration is economic. Young men are particularly active in movement; a large percentage of young Talysh men migrate each year to urban centres in Russia for work. While movement used to be from rural Azerbaijan into urban centres in Azerbaijan, currently it is mainly from urban centres in Azerbaijan to urban centres in Russia.

2.4 The Sociolinguistic Context of the City of Sumgayit

The city of Sumgayit is located approximately 50 kilometres northwest of Baku, on the northern shore of the Absheron peninsula along state highway M-29. Figure 4 shows Sumgayit relative to the rest of the Absheron.



Figure 4: Sumgayit and the Absheron Peninsula¹³

Sumgayit was founded in 1937-38 as a penal colony and during the early 1940s received a large number of German prisoners of war. In 1939 it had a population of 6,000. In 1948-49 it was converted by the Soviet government into a centre for industrial production of refined metals and synthesized chemicals. At its peak it was an important source of Soviet chemicals. It had thirteen heavy metal and twelve chemical factories, concentrated very closely together in a few-mile radius producing mercury, acids, chlorine, sulphurs, nitrates, and aluminium.

Prior to 1937 several small villages existed in the area. These have been all but swallowed up by Sumgayit. Today the two closest villages are those of Jorat to the east along the Absheron peninsula and Djeranbatan to the southeast on the M-26 between Sumgayit and Baku.

¹³ Map from Microsoft Corporation ©2000

Today many of the factories in Sumgayit are closed due to the collapse of the infrastructure through which the factories formerly obtained needed equipment and found a market for their products. Only twenty percent of the total 33 factories which were functioning in 1991 are in operation.

In the 1950s Sumgayit was rapidly populated by two groups of individuals: (a) displaced persons from various parts of the Union and (b) persons seeking work, mostly from all over Azerbaijan. With these two sources accounting for over 95% of the new population of Sumgayit, the city began its history as a multi-ethnic, multi-national community. Over a period of 25 years, until the middle of the 1970s Sumgayit continued to grow, gaining its population from these same sources. However, as the 1970s drew to a close, a change began to take place in the population. In the late 1970s and 1980s the regions of western Azerbaijan became the major source of new residents as the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict became complicated and then volatile. In the 1990s massive displacement from the occupied territories as well as areas of Armenia which were traditionally ethnically Azerbaijani swelled the population of Sumgayit. Today it is estimated that somewhere between 20-30% of the present population of Sumgayit is displaced persons.

It is difficult to determine current population figures for Sumgayit. In 1989, 300,000 people officially lived in Sumgayit. However, with the influx of displaced persons this number has likely grown by 80-100,000. This is in spite of the fact that in the early 1990s many of the factories which provided employment for the city shut down and 4-5% of the population has left to find work elsewhere as a result of employment pressures. It would be safe to estimate the current population of Sumgayit is somewhere around 400,000.

2.5 The Talysh Community of Sumgayit

The Talysh community of Sumgayit is unique in its context. Two other significant Talysh communities exist in the metropolitan Baku area, one in the city of Baku and one in Bina, east of Baku. The Talysh community of Sumgayit provides a better research context than either of these two because of the high percentage of Talysh in its population, its representatively urban nature and its unique history.

The Talysh population of Baku is not as concentrated as in Sumgayit. Even in highly multiethnic suburbs of Baku such as Ahmedli it is estimated they make up no more than 5-10% of the population. While a higher percentage of Bina may be Talysh, the city itself is smaller than Sumgayit and its social dynamics are more similar to that of rural areas than that of urban contexts.

The Talysh of Sumgayit make up an estimated 20% of the population, that is, approximately 80,000. There are no distinctly Talysh neighbourhoods in Sumgayit, nor are there particular areas in the city where they are concentrated. The term 'community' is used to describe the Talysh population in Sumgayit as a whole.

The bulk of Talysh migration to Sumgayit occurred between 1950 and 1970. Less than 10% of those who migrated to Sumgayit arrived between 1970 and 1980 and no more than that between 1980 and 1990. After 1990 very few Talysh moved to Sumgayit.

Three generations can be identified in the Talysh community of Sumgayit: (a) a first generation who came to Sumgayit on their own, (b) a second generation who were born in Sumgayit to first generation parents and (c) a third generation who were born in Sumgayit to second generation parents. The nature of each of these generations is quite unique.

About 80% of first generation Talysh came in their early 20s sometime in the 1950s and 1960s. Most of the others were in their 30s and 40s. Of those who came to Sumgayit already married, most had Talysh spouses.

There are no second generation Talysh over 55. This is because Talysh migration to the city began in 1948. Second generation Talysh range in ages from 10 to 50 with about 80% are in the 25-45 age bracket. This means that most of them have children who are not yet married. Third generation Talysh in Sumgayit are mostly school-age or teenagers under the age of 20. Very few second generation Talysh in Sumgayit have grandchildren. Thus, it is not really possible to speak of an established fourth generation of Talysh in Sumgayit.

Tables 2-5 present a summary of the Talysh population of Sumgayit according to generation and time of arrival or birth in Sumgayit. Table 2 shows estimates regarding the overall representation of each generation within the Talysh population of Sumgayit. Tables 3-5 then show estimates regarding the percentage of each generation which is represented by various periods of arrival or birth in Sumgayit.¹⁴

Table 2: Representation of Generations within the Talysh Population of Sumgayit

Generation	1	2	3
Estimated % of Talysh Population	25%	35%	40%
Estimated Number of Individuals	20,000	28,000	32,000

¹⁴ These estimates are based on information taken from the research interviews.

Table 3: Representation of Arrival Periods within First Generation

Period of Arrival	Before 1965	1965-1980	1981-1991	1991 to Present
Estimated % of Generation	75%	15%	5%	5%
Estimated Number of Individuals	15,000	3,000	1,000	1,000

Table 4: Representation of Birth Periods within Second Generation

Period of Birth	Before 1965	1965-1980	1981-1991	1991 to Present
Estimated % of Generation	30%	40%	20%	10%
Estimated Number of Individuals	8,500	11,000	5,500	3,000

Table 5: Representation of Birth Periods within Third Generation

Period of Birth	1965-1980	1981-1991	1991 to Present
Estimated % of Generation	10%	30%	60%
Estimated Number of Individuals	3,000	9,500	19,500

Since 1991, interaction between Talysh individuals in Sumgayit has become increasingly focused around social groups and economic endeavours. Clubs and societies have been founded and have become centres for Talysh interaction. With very little industrial employment available, many Talysh have moved into business, particularly the transport and trading of goods, nationally and internationally. Contact with the agriculturally rich Talysh region in the south provides numerous opportunities for business in the metropolitan Sumgayit-Baku area. For some, Sumgayit-Baku has become a connection point for business between Azerbaijan and Russia or Georgia.

Contact with the rural Talysh population is quite common for the Talysh of Sumgayit as it is for most individuals in Sumgayit who have relatives in peaceful areas of the country. The average Talysh individual will visit the Talysh districts several times a year. Individuals from the Talysh districts may visit them once or twice as well. These visits are usually social or economic in purpose. The national infrastructure suffered considerably following independence in 1991 and the subsequent political unrest from war and internal instability. Since 1995, however, improvements have been made. The most significant of these for the Talysh community of Sumgayit is the repair and maintenance of the national highway which runs from the Iranian border in the south, through the Talysh region, up to Sumgayit and on to the Russian border in the North. This has allowed for increased travel and thus increased contact.

CHAPTER THREE

A QUALITATIVE-RELATIONAL APPROACH TO THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

This chapter is purposefully placed between the description of the sociolinguistic context of the Talysh community of Sumgayit of chapter 2 and the description of the research goals for this thesis of chapter 4. A particular approach to research was developed for this thesis which sought to meet the research goals in a manner appropriate to the research context – the environment in which the Talysh community of Sumgayit currently functions. The goal of the present chapter is to define this research approach.

This thesis sought to meet the needs of the research context in two ways: (a) by employing an informed process of subject selection which allowed for purposeful selection of representative subject types, and (b) by utilizing informal, subject-driven, group-oriented methods of data collection. The first two sections in this chapter describe each of these areas of methodology in turn. Section 3.1 describes the subject selection process employed by this research and section 3.2 describes the data collection methods employed.

The methodological approach to research developed for this thesis has been labeled a 'qualitative-relational' approach. This label has been chosen because of the similarity between the methodological approach of this thesis and traditional methods of qualitative research and relational data collection. In the descriptions

below of the sampling process and data collection procedures employed by this thesis, connections to traditional qualitative and relational methods will be noted.

3.1 Subject Selection

Research could not conceivably be conducted with the total pool of possible subjects which included over 80,000 individuals of Talysh ethnicity in Sumgayit. Gathering data on each of these possible subjects would have taken much more time than was available. In addition, some of the possible subjects were inaccessible for numerous reasons including political sensitivity, health problems and mobility (some of the possible subjects travel outside of Sumgayit for extended periods of time).

Three questions are addressed in this section regarding the sampling techniques which were employed in this study:

Section 3.1.1: What were the needs of the research context with regard to subject selection?

Section 3.1.2: How were subjects selected in response to these needs?

Section 3.1.3: Can this method of selection claim reliability and validity?

3.1.1 Subject Selection and the Research Context

The Talysh community of Sumgayit is a prototypical non-geographically defined community (NGDC). There are no Talysh neighbourhoods, no special housing districts for Talysh nor any sort of geographical definition for the Talysh population in Sumgayit.¹⁵ The environment surrounding the Talysh community of Sumgayit is characterized by a lack of homogeneity. Sumgayit is a multiethnic,

¹⁵ NGDCs do not meet some traditional definitions for the concept of 'community'. Doughty and Doughty (1974) claim geographical proximity as a key element in the definition of a community. Boissevain (1976) and others suggest, however, that geographic proximity is not as essential in defining a community as other issues such as common social purpose or shared living conditions. Tosi's (1999) definition of community as a sense of "ethnic cohesiveness" fits the description of NGDCs best.

multigenerational and multiclass environment in which variation in sociolinguistic behaviour is pronounced. NGDCs like the Talysh community of Sumgayit are greatly influenced by such lack of homogeneity and rapid change in their environment. Large ranges of behavioural variation are very possible in this context. Many of these variations are not uniformly distributed throughout the population.

Diversity is not only a reality outside the Talysh community of Sumgayit but also within it. It is a migratory community which has evolved over a short period of time through a series of population movements from the traditional Talysh region of Azerbaijan into the city of Sumgayit. Distinct periods in the city's history exhibit characteristics inherent to the nature of the population movements it was experiencing at the time. In turn, the population of each period exhibits its own unique set of behaviours in comparison to the populations of other periods.¹⁶ The community as a whole has been vulnerable to fluctuations in membership and behaviours caused by migration.

This environment of (a) non-geographical community definition, (b) lack of homogeneity both within the community and outside the community, and (c) non-uniform distribution of diversity needs to be considered when formulating methods of subject selection.¹⁷

¹⁶ Olson and Kobayashi (1993) describe the forces at work in migration as "push" and "pull" pressures, a combination of reasons to leave and reasons to come. Moore and Rosenberg (1993) suggest a second important consideration in understanding a migratory population, that of the cost inherent to migration. Migration is a decision made after weighing the costs of staying against the costs of leaving. These costs are often referred to as human capital. Human capital is an economic expression of the value which an individual's current social choices provide for them. Among other things, segments of the Talysh population of Sumgayit differ from one another in (a) what made them leave their original location, (b) what brought them to Sumgayit and (c) what the human capital considerations were and are for them.

¹⁷ Traditional methods of subject selection such as random sampling are difficult to employ properly in this environment. Studies of distinct neighbourhoods or geographically defined groups in an urban environment may employ traditional sampling methods (for example, Milroy 1980). In the case of NGDCs such as the Talysh community of Sumgayit, however, these methods rarely allow for adequate representation of the wide range of diversity inherent in the community.

3.1.2 *Informed Sampling*

In response to the research context, an informed method of sampling was employed in this research. Informed sampling is a method of choosing research subjects which is based on the researcher's perception of gaps in what is known about the total pool of possible subjects. Subjects are chosen so as to obtain information which fills in these gaps. This is not a traditional method of sampling, but it is also not an unprecedented method. It has been employed by a number of researchers. Becker (1998), for example, used informed sampling methods in research among drug addicts in an urban context.

Section 3.1.2.1 below explains the choice of an informed method of sampling employed by this study as opposed to a random method of sampling. Section 3.1.2.2 then describes the stages of data collection.

3.1.2.1 Informed Versus Random Sampling

The basic assumption made by all methods of sampling is that research can be conducted with less than all of the possible subjects and still provide results which can be said to represent all of the possible subjects. The point at which sampling methods differ from one another is that of how the sample is said to represent the total pool of possible subjects. Sampling methods are often divided into two categories: (a) those which claim the sample statistically represents the total pool of possible subjects and (b) those which claim the sample non-statistically represents the total pool of possible subjects.¹⁸ Informed sampling falls into the latter category, claiming non-statistical representation.

¹⁸ Wood and Christy (1999) refer to the difference between these two types of sampling approaches as differences in inference. They speak of "illustrative inferences...inferences about what is possible, as distinct from statistical inferences about how prevalent each of the possibilities is" (p. 185).

The difference between a sampling method which claims non-statistical representation and one which claims statistical representation can be seen in a comparison between the sampling methods employed by this research and traditional methods of random sampling.

A total of 70 individuals were chosen from among the Talysh population of Sumgayit to form the sample for this study. These individuals were intentionally chosen so as to (a) represent as much variation within the Talysh population of Sumgayit as possible and/or (b) obtain as much information as possible on variation within the Talysh population of Sumgayit. This method of sampling is quite different from random sampling methods which would require both (a) a larger number of individuals within the sample (to ensure greater confidence in the statistical significance of the results) and (b) a subject selection process which gave every individual in the total pool of subjects equal opportunity to fall within the sample.

Use of random sampling would have involved three steps:

- (a) creating a complete list of the total pool of subjects (all Talysh individuals in Sumgayit),
- (b) devising a method of randomly selecting a subset of this pool, and
- (c) conducting research with each of the individuals selected.

In the research context of the Talysh community of Sumgayit, the first and third steps would have been difficult to carry out. No list currently exists which (a) includes the total pool of residents of Sumgayit¹⁹ and (b) identifies those within this pool who are of Talysh ethnicity. The identification of Talysh individuals is the most

¹⁹ Government offices keep records of all housing registrations made in Sumgayit. However, many residents of Sumgayit are not officially registered. These unregistered individuals include refugees, individuals who have moved into to Sumgayit in order to live with family members but are not personally registered and individuals who are living in residences registered to someone else, among others.

problematic of these difficulties as at no point in Sumgayit's history has a record been made of the ethnicity of its residents. In light of the logistical difficulties of employing a random sampling method for this thesis a method other than random sampling needed to be employed.

An informed sampling was employed by this study particularly because of the ways in which it is methodologically suitable to the realities of the research context. As defined above, informed sampling involves choosing research subjects based on the researcher's perception of what still needs to be learned about the total pool of possible subjects. Three aspects of informed sampling are relevant to the research context of the Talysh community of Sumgayit: (a) Informed sampling allows the researcher to choose subjects, eliminating the logistical difficulties presented by the necessity of compiling a complete list of all possible subjects and conducting research with each randomly selected subject; (b) Informed sampling does not assume equal distribution of variation throughout the population of possible subjects but rather chooses subjects so as to gain information on the widest range of variation within the population possible; (c) Informed sampling gives the researcher the ability to choose and conduct research with subjects in a manner which is culturally and politically acceptable since subject selection is researcher controlled.²⁰

3.1.2.2 Stages of Data Collection

There were two stages of data collection in this research. The first occurred over a period of five weeks in November and December of 2001, during which time a combination of cursory and in-depth personal interviews were conducted with 40 individuals. The second occurred over an eight-week period from December 2001 to

²⁰ The importance of cultural and political sensitivity in the research methods of this thesis will be discussed further below. Cultural and political sensitivity is particularly important in relation to data collection. (See 2.2.1)

January 2002, during which time in-depth personal interviews were conducted with 30 individuals. Each of these stages is described below.

3.1.2.2.1 First Stage of Data Collection

First-stage subjects were chosen so as to conduct interviews with at last several individuals from the following categories: (a) individuals of an ethnicity other than Talysh or Azerbaijani who had lived in Sumgayit for at least 30 years, (b) individuals of an ethnicity other than Talysh or Azerbaijani who had lived in Sumgayit at least since 1985, (c) refugees, (d) non-Talysh, non-refugee individuals who had arrived or had been born in Sumgayit after 1985, (e) individuals of Talysh or Azerbaijani ethnicity representing various periods of arrival or birth in Sumgayit.

These categories of individuals were chosen because they were expected to provide a good picture of diversity in the demographic, social, economic and political context of Sumgayit. Nineteen Talysh individuals, eight ethnic Azerbaijani individuals, eight non-refugee individuals of an ethnicity other than Talysh or Azerbaijani and five refugees²¹ were interviewed in this first-stage.

For the first stage of data collection, individuals were chosen as they became available. Considerable time was spent in Sumgayit visiting homes, teahouses, offices, local businesses and chatting with passers-by on the street. Conversations were started with several hundred individuals during the five-week first-stage period. When it became clear that an individual belonged to one of the categories of interest an interview would be conducted with them.

3.1.2.2.2 Second Stage of Data Collection

The goal of the second stage of data collection was to maximize representation of variation in sociolinguistic behaviour. Individuals were chosen for

²¹ Two of the refugees were of an ethnicity other than Azerbaijani.

interviews if they were reported to demonstrate sociolinguistic behaviour which was different from subjects previously interviewed.²² Thus, individuals were chosen one by one, building an ever improving picture of the range of variation in sociolinguistic behaviour which exists in the Talysh community of Sumgayit. This method of subject selection is not unprecedented. Becker (2000) and others have used this method.

The majority of interviews were conducted in the context of the subject's family. In most cases, particularly early on in the second stage of subject selection, several members of a family were interviewed.

An attempt was made to equal representation of men and women as well as of individuals of various ages. This was based on the assumption that gender and age were potential factors which could influence variation in sociolinguistic behaviour.²³ In cases where a subject was chosen who demonstrated sociolinguistic behaviour which was similar to a previously interviewed individual, both subjects were included if they were of different genders or ages.

For the second stage of data collection individuals were chosen more carefully through personal contacts established before the research project and during the first stage of data collection. The total pool of second stage subjects was not chosen as a block. Some of the subjects were chosen as the second stage progressed.

3.1.3 Reliability and Validity in Informed Sampling

Sampling methods which claim statistical representation such as random sampling are often felt to produce more scientifically reliable and valid results than

²² Variation in sociolinguistic behaviour was identified in three particular areas: (a) Talysh language use, (b) Talysh language proficiency, and (c) frequency of Talysh speaking individuals in a person's social network. A description is provided in chapter three of these areas of sociolinguistic behaviour and how variation within them was identified.

²³ Age and gender are two of the most commonly identified influences on variation in sociolinguistic behaviour (Fishman 1972, Gal 1979, Milroy 1980).

those claiming non-statistical representation such as the informed sampling method of this thesis. The notions of reliability and validity have seen redefinition in recent years, however, to include a greater understanding of a variety of research needs and perspectives. It has been suggested by Chenail (2000), Trochim (2001), Johnstone (2000) and others that reliability and validity in research is dependent on the nature of the research and is defined differently for different types of research.

In the reliability-validity discussion, a fundamental distinction is drawn between qualitative and quantitative research. Johnstone (2000) defines qualitative research as utilizing “relatively non-mechanical” procedures; “asking people about things, watching, listening” as opposed to quantitative methods, “relatively mechanical procedures (counting, calculating averages, performing statistical tests to see which factors vary systematically together or how likely results are to be random).” Informed sampling is more qualitative than quantitative in that it claims non-statistical representation of the total pool of possible subjects by the sample. Random sampling is more of a quantitative research in that it claims statistical representation.

Trochim (2001) suggests that reliability and validity should be defined differently in qualitative and quantitative research. Quantitative research and qualitative research approach reliability and validity from different perspectives. Reliability in quantitative research is generally defined as repeatability. A reliable quantitative research procedure is that which can be made to produce the same results each time it is employed. A quantitative research procedure is said to be valid if the results it produces are proven to be true by means of objective standards of measurement (i.e. statistics, tests or other mechanical procedures).

Qualitative research, on the other hand, defines reliability as credibility of both researcher and research subjects. A reliable qualitative research procedure is one which demonstrates the researcher's own grasp of the focus of research and includes appropriately chosen subjects into the research. Qualitative research is only as valid as the credibility of the researcher and the subjects. Validity in qualitative research is defined by a consensus in the information provided by subjects. Research results are considered valid because the information provided by the body of reliable subjects does not contradict itself. Rather, the information points to an overall agreement between subjects concerning the nature of the focus of research.

Qualitative and quantitative approaches to research define the task of research differently as a result of their differing perspectives on reliability and validity. Winter (2000) defines the difference between the interpretive task of qualitative methods and the extrapolative task of quantitative methods as a difference in their understanding of the relationship between facts and data. A quantitative research approach requires the data to confirm an hypothesis. A qualitative approach on the other hand seeks to derive an hypothesis from the data.

Informed sampling is quite qualitative in its focus on process (hypothesis development) as opposed to proof (hypothesis confirmation). Informed sampling depends on an 'interactive' relationship between knowledge of the total pool of possible subjects and selection of the sample. This is characteristically different from the 'linear' relationship exhibited by sampling methods which claim statistical representation such as random sampling. An illustration of the difference between these two relationships can be seen in figure 5 below.

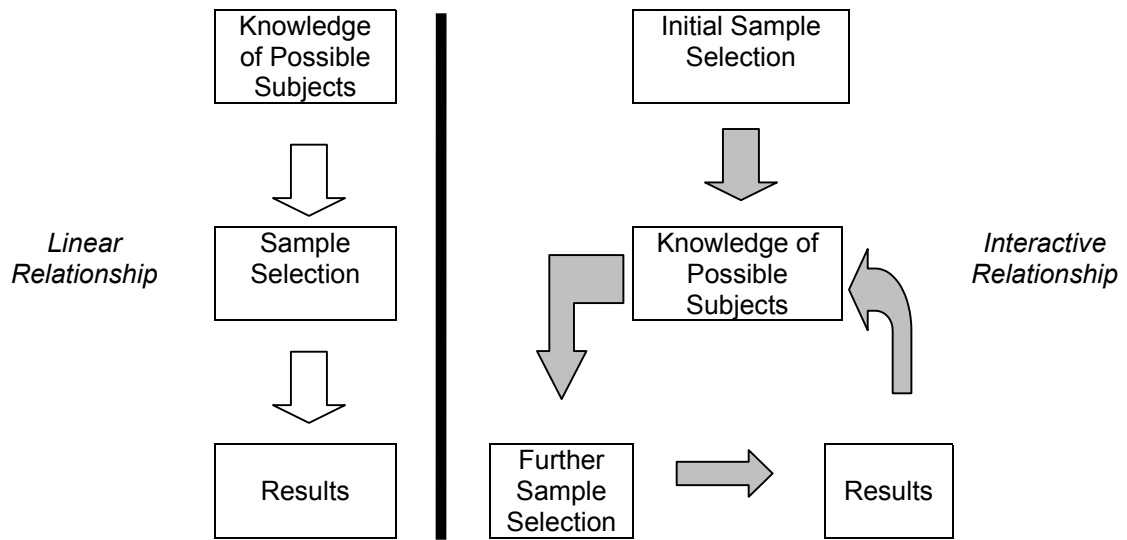


Figure 5: Sample Selection Relationships

Random sampling methods require basic knowledge of the total pool of possible subjects (a list of the all the possible subjects) in order to select a sample. This sample is chosen before research begins. The sample will eventually provide in-depth knowledge of the total pool of possible subjects (by means of statistical projection) but this eventual knowledge will not have any effect on the sample selection of the research. The relationship between knowledge of the total pool of subjects, sample selection and results is linear.

In informed sampling on the other hand, sample selection continues during research as an ongoing task. Very little knowledge of the total pool of possible subjects is required for subject selection to begin. Knowledge of the total pool of subjects is increased based on results which produced by conducting research with initially selected subjects. This knowledge guides further subject selection. As research progresses in this fashion, each stage of subject selection is based on better knowledge of the total pool of possible subjects and thus produces better results. Sample selection is an ongoing task which both provides results of the research and guides research in further sample selection.

With an understanding of the qualitative nature of informed sampling methods, it is possible to claim reliability and validity for the sampling methods of this research. Sampling simply needs to be seen as one element of the research process which, together with all other elements, seeks to produce reliable and valid research results.

The informed methods of sampling employed in this research sought reliability through (a) the choice of subjects who represented as wide a range of variation as possible in sociolinguistic behaviour (credibility of subjects) and (b) the use of research methods which were both cognizant of the research context and appropriately designed to elicit the necessary information (credibility of the researcher).²⁴ Validity was sought by compiling information taken from this wide range of different individuals and arriving at a body of information upon which agreement was demonstrated.

3.2 Collecting the Data

The data collection methods employed in this research were very closely tied to the informed sampling methods described above. Three questions are addressed below with regard to the process of data collection employed by this study:

Section 3.2.1: What were the needs of the research context with regard to data collection?

Section 3.2.2: How was data collected in response to these needs?

Section 3.2.3: Can this method of data collection claim reliability and validity?

²⁴ The methods by which data was collected are discussed further below. The actual questions which were asked of subjects can be found in the appendices. The rationale behind the choice of these questions can be found in chapter 3.

3.2.1 Data Collection and the Research Context

Two aspects of the research context were particularly relevant to the data collection methods employed by this thesis: (a) the importance of social solidarity and (b) the sensitivity of the current political milieu of Sumgayit.

Social solidarity is a core value in Azerbaijani culture. A greater value is placed on solidarity and the group than on the individual and personal interests. Within the social hierarchy, the family is the most important social group. In this context, research which desires individuals to share honest information about themselves must also allow them to share how they fit into their social system. Rather than simply asking individuals to share information about their own sociolinguistic behaviour, research should ask them to place themselves into the frame of reference of their community. This is much more likely to yield accurate and descriptive results.

The political environment in Sumgayit has been directly affected by the volatility and unrest which has recently defined the politics of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Two elements of Sumgayit's political environment in particular need to be considered when developing a methodological approach to research.²⁵ The first is Sumgayit's large refugee population. The second is the effects of separatist politics in the Republic on the political milieu of Sumgayit.

A large percentage of Sumgayit's population is made up of refugees from the occupied territories of Azerbaijan. There is a strong sensitivity to interest in Sumgayit and its population by outsiders. This sensitivity is accentuated when ethnic issues are involved. In the years following Azerbaijan's independence, several ethnically-related separatist movements arose and were subsequently

²⁵ This applies not only to data collection but also to methods of sampling. (See note 7.)

quelled by national military intervention.²⁶ Ethnicity and inter-ethnic relations are not topics which the general population of Sumgayit feels completely comfortable discussing at present, particularly with foreign individuals.²⁷ It is necessary to employ research methods which allow individuals to volunteer information as they feel comfortable rather than defining for them what needs to be shared.

To summarize, data collection methods which are cognizant of the needs of the research context need to (a) allow individuals to present themselves within the frame of reference of their community and (b) allow for subject-driven, informal methods of interaction.

3.2.2 Self-Reported Relational Data Collection

Data were collected solely through personal interviews, a qualitative, non-mechanical procedure. The majority of the questions included in the four interview schedules were open-ended; they focus on eliciting qualitative, prose responses from the subject.²⁸ This method lent itself well to creating a subject-driven, informal research environment.

All but 13 of the interviews were conducted in the context of the interviewees' families and/or friends. For 6 of these 13 cases, interviews were conducted with other members of the interviewees' families and/or friends, but not at the same time as the interviewee.

²⁶ One of the most significant of these movements was that lead by Alekram Alekber oglu Hummatov, former Vice-Minister of Defense and a Colonel in the National Army. On June 21, 1993 Hummatov declared the independence of the Talysh-Mugan Autonomous Republic (TMAR), based in Lenkaran. Following an appeal to the national parliament for ratification of the TMAR which was rejected, Hummatov was eventually imprisoned on December 9, 1993 and sentenced to death on February 12, 1996 for what was labeled treason. This sentence has not yet been carried out and he, along with other leading members of the TMAR movement are still in prison.

²⁷ This by no means reflects a negative stance towards ethnicity by the government of Azerbaijan. Under the constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan, instated on November 12, 1995, the state guarantees the right for preservation, free use, cultivation and development of all of the languages indigenous to the Republic's population (article 21).

²⁸ The interview schedules can be found in the appendices.

Interviews with the first-stage subjects were conducted following the General Information Form (Appendix 1). With the first-stage Talysh subjects, the Talysh Language Use Form (Appendix 2), the Talysh Language Proficiency Form (Appendix 3) and the Social Network Analysis Form (Appendix 4) were also used. This served as a pilot test for these forms. Second stage interviews involved the use of the Talysh Language Use Form, the Talysh Language Proficiency Form and the Social Network Analysis Form.

Two key elements defined the data collection procedures: (a) data was self-reported and (b) interviewees were asked to provide information not only on themselves but also on others, and to compare themselves to others. This self-reported comparison is referred to as 'self-reported relational data'. Relational data is defined as information which (i) pertains to an individual but is (ii) relative to others rather than to a predetermined standard. Self-reported relational data is defined as relational data which has been provided by the individual to whom the data directly pertains.

Three kinds of self-reported relational data were collected. First, interviewees were asked to compare their sociolinguistic behaviour to others whom they know well and whose sociolinguistic behaviour was different from their own. They were asked to identify several individuals whose sociolinguistic behaviour was more positively oriented towards the vernacular than their own and several whose sociolinguistic behaviour was less positively oriented than their own.

Second, interviewees were asked to give their perception of the typicality of their own sociolinguistic behaviour in comparison to others. They were asked questions to determine how similar their sociolinguistic behaviour was to that of other

individuals in groups of which they were a member. These groups included age group, gender group, family, and social network or community.

Third, interviewees were asked to provide 'proxy' interviews. A proxy interview was defined as an interview in which the subject, having completed the interview process themselves, was asked to repeat the interview process providing information on behalf of another individual with whom they had a direct social connection. These individuals were labeled as 'proxy' subjects.

In looking at typicality in more detail, the identification of typicality was a crucial element in the methodology of this thesis. It served three purposes:

1. It allowed for the identification of atypical types of individuals who could be contacted for interviewing. This maximized the potential for describing variation in the sociolinguistic behaviour of individuals.
2. It provided a rich source of understanding on community norms, including an understanding of the contextual elements which contribute to variation in sociolinguistic behaviour within the community.
3. It facilitated the placement of each subject (personal or proxy) into the context of their family, age-group, gender group and the greater community. This provided support for social solidarity within the research context.

3.2.3 Reliability and Validity in Self-reported Relational Data Collection

As with informed methods of sampling, self-reported relational methods of data collection claim reliability and validity more from a qualitative than quantitative perspective. Reliability is based on the credibility of the researcher's knowledge of the Talysh community of Sumgayit and the credibility of the chosen subjects as

experts on the topic of research. Validity is claimed by these methods on the basis of consensus between the subjects.

The key to reliability and validity in the data collection methods of this thesis was ensuring this credibility and consensus. This was done by means of a system of information assessment. This system of information assessment is described below in two parts. Section 3.2.3.1 introduces the system of information levels used by this study and section 3.2.3.2 explains the rationale for this system.

3.2.3.1 Information Levels

The reliability and validity of self-reported relational data depends on the subject's familiarity with those involved in the relational comparison. Milroy and Milroy (1992) speak of levels in the strength of individual relationships. They refer to 'first-hand links', that is, relationships with others with whom the individual has direct and regular contact. Comparison to others who are linked first-hand is likely to be more useful in producing accurate information than comparison to less directly connected individuals. Wiklund (2002) paraphrases Hyltenstam and Stroud (1990) who speak more of a continuum in which relationships can be measured according to the strength of influence which members have on one another. Whether viewed in terms of ranks (first-hand, second-hand, etc.) or a more complex continuum, relational comparison needs to take into account the nature of the relationships between the subject and those to whom comparison is made.

Five types of questions were included in the interview schedules: (a) questions oriented towards self-reporting, (b) questions oriented towards comparison of the subject to others with whom they have a direct social connection,²⁹ (c)

²⁹ Direct social connection was defined as one of four relationships, coworker, friend, immediate family member or individual with whom the subject has regular contact.

questions oriented towards comparison of the subject to the general community, (d) questions oriented towards comparison of individuals with whom the subject has a direct social connection to one another and the community as a whole, and (e) questions oriented towards comparison of individuals with whom the subject does not have a direct connection to the subject, to one another, and/or to the community. Each type of question elicited information with differing strengths of connection to the subject. The categories can be labeled according to these differences.

Information gained from questions oriented towards self-reporting can be labeled 'original'. This is information which was obtained from the subject and pertains to the subject. Examples of this kind of question are the following:

"Which language are you most fluent in?"

"With whom do you use Talysh the most?"

"How well do you speak Talysh?"

Information gained from questions oriented towards comparison of the subject to others with whom they have a direct social connection can be labeled 'level-one' information. This is similar to what Milroy and Milroy (1992) refer to as 'first-hand link' information. Examples of this kind of question are the following:

"Where was your wife's mother born?"

"Do you know someone who speaks Talysh a little better than you?"

"Who in your family speaks Talysh the best?"

Information which can be labeled 'level-two' is that gained from questions (i) oriented towards comparison of the subject to the general community or (ii) questions oriented towards comparison of individuals with whom the subject has a direct social connection to one another and the community as a whole. Like level-one information, level-two information pertains to an individual with the whom the

subject has a direct social connection. Level-two information differs from level-one information in that it involves comparison to individuals other than the subject.

Examples of these kinds of questions are the following:

“How typical is your wife’s Talysh language proficiency when compared to other individuals her age?”

“Does [individual] speak Talysh at home as often as others in their community?”

“Is [individual’s] Talysh language proficiency higher or lower than that of others in their family?”

The last category of information, ‘level-three’, is that gained from questions oriented towards comparison of individuals with whom the subject does not have a direct connection (i) to the subject, (ii) to one another, and/or (iii) to the community. Level-three information is the information with the weakest connection to the subject that was used as data. Examples of this kind of question are the following:

“How often would the average mother in your community speak Talysh with her children?”

“How typical is it for neighbours in your community to speak Talysh with one another on the street?”

“Is it common for individuals, where you work, to speak Talysh with one another?”

3.2.3.2 The Significance of Information Levels

The classification of information according to the strength of its connection to the subject was very important in the research process. Adopting a process approach, the research methodology employed here approached data collection as a pursuit of consensus. Behind the information classification system was the

qualitative definition of reliability and validity as credibility and consensus. Data collection was seen as a process of identifying contradictions and conflicts in what was presently known and responding in two ways: (a) weighing current information and (b) seeking out additional information which would help eliminate the contradictions and conflicts.

Seeking out additional information which would help eliminate contradictions and conflicts in the data was the goal of selecting of subjects on an informed basis. Weighing information was directly related to the classification of information according to the strength of its connection to the subject. Weighing information was defined as the evaluation of the relative reliability and validity of two or more pieces of information.

Where contradictions and conflict in the data occurred, the following steps were taken to eliminate them:

1. Information with the strongest connection to the subject was preferred.
2. Where two or more pieces of information of equal strength of connection conflicted, new information was sought by means of subject selection.
3. When two or more pieces of information of equal strength of connection conflicted and new information failed to resolve this conflict, the source(s) of the information were contacted for a further interview.
4. In cases where step 3 was not helpful or in cases where a source of information could not be contacted for an additional interview, the majority opinion was accepted.

The inclusion of relational questions (questions which produced information other than 'original') in the interview schedules and the administration of proxy interviews produced a wealth of information beyond that which would have been

available if only 'original' information was sought. In the 49 interviews which were conducted with Talysh individuals (19 from the first stage of data collection and 30 from the second stage) information was gathered on 248 individuals. For close to half of these individuals (123), the information that was gathered was either 'original' or level-one.

In proxy interview situations, the classification of information according to strength of connection to the subject needed to be adjusted. Information from proxy interviews was by default, one step removed from the subject providing the information. Thus, questions oriented towards 'original' information in personal interviews produced information in proxy interviews which was classified as level-one. Questions oriented towards level-one information in personal interviews produced information in proxy interviews which was classified as level-two.

Questions oriented towards level-two information in personal interviews produced information in proxy interviews which was classified as level-three. In proxy interviews, information from questions which produced level-three information in personal interviews was not included in the data.³⁰

3.3 Summary

The methodological approach to research outlined above employed an informed method of sampling. Subjects were chosen by the researcher so as to represent as many different types of individuals as possible from the sample. Research was conducted with each subject through personal interviews in group settings. The questions which were included in the interviews were designed to elicit each interviewee's perception of their own sociolinguistic behaviour in relation to

³⁰ These questions were administered in the proxy interviews but the strength of the information's connection to the subject was considered too weak to include in the data. It was classified as 'level-four' information.

others with whom they have contact or of the sociolinguistic behaviour of others of whom they have knowledge.

An informed method of sampling was chosen for this study because (a) the Talysh community of Sumgayit is non-geographically defined, (b) variation of sociolinguistic behaviour within the community is not uniformly distributed throughout the population, and (c) it allowed for informal, subject-driven, group-oriented research.

Informed sampling was not simply a method of subject selection for this research. It was an integral element in the collection of research data. Subjects were chosen specifically for the type of information which they were able to provide. When evaluated as part of a qualitative research methodology, the informed sampling methods of this thesis can claim both reliability and validity. Reliability is claimed on the basis of the credibility of the researcher and the subjects. Validity is claimed on the basis of consensus between the subjects regarding the research results.

A self-reported, relational focus in the interviews was chosen for this research because the political and cultural context in which the Talysh community of Sumgayit currently functions required an informal, subject-driven research approach which supported social solidarity. Relational data collection works well together with an informed sampling method as it allows for a wide range of information to be gathered from individuals about themselves as well as about others.

Self-reported relational data collection provides a reliable and valid picture of how individuals in a community perceive themselves and others in the community. The self-reported relational methods of data collection employed by this study claim reliability based on the credibility of the researcher's knowledge of the Talysh

community of Sumgayit and the credibility of the chosen subjects as experts on the topic of research. Validity is claimed by these methods on the basis of consensus between the subjects.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROFILES: IDENTIFYING VERNACULAR ORIENTATION

With a methodological approach in hand which is appropriate for the research context, it is possible to consider how the research goals may be met. There were two research goals for this thesis. The first goal was to construct a typology of positive vernacular orientation among the Talysh of Sumgayit in three areas: vernacular language use, vernacular language proficiency and frequency of vernacular-speaking individuals in social networks. The second goal was to analyze this typology to ascertain the causes for positive vernacular orientation.

This chapter describes the process by which the first of these goals was achieved. The second of these goals will be dealt with further in chapter 7. In the introduction to this chapter a rationale is given for why language use, language proficiency and social networks were chosen as points of interest in this study. Following this, each of these points of interest are described in detail.

The three areas in which vernacular orientation was of interest were chosen because of their relevance to the individual. Language use, language proficiency and social networks are three of the most individual domains of sociolinguistic behaviour in which vernacular orientation can be identified.

We can place these three areas into the wider context of the eight indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality in a language group which are elaborated by Landweer (2000). Landweer's indicators include: (a) relative position on the urban-rural

continuum, (b) domains in which the language is used, (c) frequency and type of code-switching, (d) population and group dynamics, (e) distribution of speakers within their own social networks, (f) social outlook regarding and within the speech community, (g) language prestige and (h) access to a stable and acceptable economy.

These indicators can be placed on a continuum based on their direct relevance to the individual.³¹ At one end of the continuum would be those indicators which are highly personal in nature and can be expected to vary widely from individual to individual. These would be indicators of sociolinguistic behaviour whose effect is highly dependent on an individual's personal decisions. We could label this end of the continuum 'Personal'.

At the other end of the continuum are the indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality which affect a community as a whole and are expected to show very little variation in effect on one individual as opposed to another. These are unlikely to be dependent on an individual's personal decisions for their effect. We can label this end of the continuum 'Global'.³²

Between 'Personal' and 'Global', near the centre of the continuum, can be found those indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality which depend partially on the personal decisions of individuals for their effect but also have some measure of effect on the community as a whole. We can label this point on the continuum 'Interactive'.

³¹ This continuum is suggested by this author, not by Landweer.

³² The 'global' indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality are similar in scope to what Mackey (1973) refers to as the forces of 'geolinguistics'. Mackey speaks of language power, language attraction and language pressure as "ultimately responsible for the life and death of languages" (p. 3). The 'global' indicators reflect the effects of these 'geolinguistic' forces.

Figure 6 places each of the indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality on the 'Continuum of Individual Relevance'. The indicators are identified as follows: (a) relative position on the urban-rural continuum is labeled as 'Urbanicity', (b) domains in which the language is used is labeled as 'Domains', (c) frequency and type of code-switching is labeled 'Code', (d) population and group dynamics is labeled 'Population', (e) distribution of speakers within their own social networks is labeled 'Networks', (f) social outlook regarding and within the speech community is labeled 'Identity', (g) language prestige is labeled 'Prestige' and (h) access to a stable and acceptable economy is labeled 'Economics'.

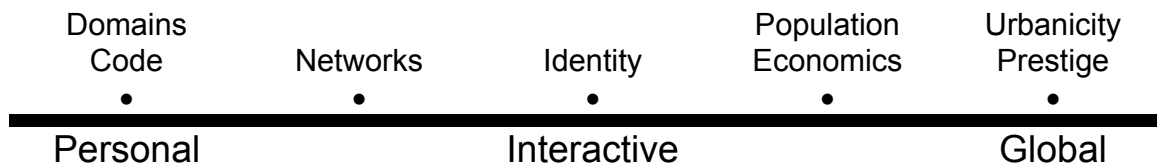


Figure 6: A Continuum of Individual Relevance for Ethnolinguistic Vitality Indicators

Based on the analysis shown in figure 2, the three Landweer Indicators which are most relevant to the individual are (1) domains in which language is used, (2) frequency and type of code-switching, and (3) distribution of speakers within their own social networks. These are similar to the areas in which vernacular orientation is analyzed in this thesis.³³

Landweer identifies an underlying question for each of her indicators. Table 6 lists the three personal indicators and the underlying question proposed by Landweer for each indicator.

³³ This focus on the sociolinguistic behaviour of the individual within the context of ethnolinguistic vitality is similar to that of Dorian (1980). Dorian also focused her study on "language retention on the level of the individual rather than that of community" (p. 86).

Table 6: Underlying Questions for Personal Indicators

Indicator	Underlying Question
Domains of Use	Is there sufficient use of the target language throughout life?
Code-Switching	Do people characteristically switch between the vernacular and other languages without any notable consistency?
Social Networks	Is there a network of social relations supportive of the local language?

The underlying questions presented in Table 6 are relevant to the identification of ethnolinguistic vitality in a community. As the focus of this thesis is on one aspect of ethnolinguistic vitality, vernacular orientation, these questions need to be refined.

Ethnolinguistic vitality is a measure of the level of overall social sustainability of a language. This sustainability is the result of a continual process of role definition for the language in question and those languages with which it coexists in society. Vernacular orientation is a reflection of one aspect of this process, the role of the vernacular in society.

The underlying questions proposed in Table 6 for measurement of vitality in domains of language use and social networks are already quite focused on vernacular orientation. For code-switching, however, the interaction between the vernacular and other languages with which it coexists is the focus of the underlying question. The approach taken in this research is to look at vernacular orientation, apart from aspects of vitality relating to languages with which the vernacular is in contact. Therefore, the underlying question for the area of 'code-switching' needs to be refined. The point of interest here is not switching of codes but the strength of one code, the vernacular. Thus, for the purposes of this research, vernacular

language proficiency has been chosen as an indicator of vernacular orientation replacing code-switching as an indicator of overall ethnolinguistic vitality.

Table 7 gives the underlying questions for all three of the areas of description analyzed by this research.

Table 7: Underlying Questions Regarding Vernacular Orientation

Indicator	Underlying Question
Domains of Vernacular Use	How does the individual use the vernacular in the community?
Vernacular Language Proficiency	How well do individuals use the vernacular?
Social Networks	What is the representation of vernacular speaking individuals in the social networks of the community?

Description of vernacular orientation will be approached as a process of profiling. A profile is defined as a description of a particular kind of social, linguistic or sociolinguistic behaviour. Three profiles are created for each individual. A sociolinguistic profile is created which is a description of the individual's patterns of language use. A linguistic profile is created which is a description of the individual's level of language proficiency. Finally, a social profile is created which is a description of the individual's social network. The resulting triad of profiles for each individual ultimately allows for a typology of positive vernacular orientation to be constructed for the Talysh community of Sumgayit.

Each of the profile categories is described in this chapter in two parts. First, the nature of the profile category is addressed. Its definition and how it has been studied before will be presented. Second, the aspects of the profile category used in this research to formulate the individual profiles are described. The methods by which information was gathered are explained.

Section 4.1 looks at the sociolinguistic profile. This is done in two parts. First, section 4.1.1 reviews how language use has been defined and studied by others. Second, section 4.1.2 presents the aspects of individual language use patterns which this study described in the individual sociolinguistic profiles.

Section 4.2 looks at the linguistic profile. Similar to section 4.1, there are two parts to this section. Section 4.2.1 reviews how language proficiency has been defined and studied by others. Section 4.2.2 then presents the aspects of individual language proficiency which this study described in the individual linguistic profiles.

Finally, section 4.3 looks at the social profile. Once again, there are two parts to this section. Section 4.3.1 reviews how social networks have been defined and studied by others. This is followed by section 4.3.2 which presents the aspects of individual social networks which this study described in the individual social profiles.

4.1 The Sociolinguistic Profile: Vernacular Language Use

4.1.1 The Definition and Study of Language Use

Language use is a commonly studied sociolinguistic behaviour. The overarching principle behind the concept of language use is language choice. Patterns of language use, for an individual or group, can be defined as a set of choices, made by the individual or group, which determine when, where, with whom and how each of the language varieties which are available in a linguistic repertoire are used. The term 'language variety' is used here in a broad sense, encompassing linguistic variation as minimal as accent or choice of vocabulary or as extreme as different languages. Linguistic repertoire is defined as the sum total of linguistic varieties which an individual has the opportunity to use.

In the discipline of sociolinguistics a common reason for studying patterns of

language use is the belief that they are a strong indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality. Differences between individuals or groups in their use of language reveal patterns of sociolinguistic interaction and influence. Studies of language use have focused on language choice in environments as broad as “the social and demographic context of language use in the United States” (Stevens 1992) and as narrow as “the selection of lexical alternatives in linguistically homogenous societies” (Gumperz 1971).

Three aspects of language use are generally identified in studies of language use patterns: function, physical dynamics and interpersonal relationship. The aspect of function refers to the purpose of language use. Studies of function in language use focus on the roles of such variables as topic (Sherzer and Darnell 1972), formality (Milroy 1980), establishment of identity (Huffines 1991) and emotional expression (Sankoff 1980) in the determination of language choices.

The aspect of physical dynamics in language use refers to the geographic and modal context of language use. Studies on the aspect of physical dynamics in language use focus on the roles of such variables as mode or channel of communication (Hunt 1973) and physical domains (Gal 1979).

Studies on the role of interpersonal relationship in patterns of language use focus on the relationship between speakers in communication situations and the effects of this relationship on patterns of language use. Numerous elements which define the interpersonal relationship of speakers have been studied. Relative status between speakers (Russell 1982) and the ethnic or social identity (Tosi 1999) of speakers are examples of interpersonal elements which have been shown to affect individual choices in language use.

4.1.2 *The Sociolinguistic Profile*

In this study, the sociolinguistic profiles of individuals focused on the description of Talysh language use in physical and interpersonal domains. These two areas of language use are more commonly studied as indicators of linguistic orientation than the area of function. They have been chosen for description because they are areas which are readily definable and observable, particularly when self-reporting is required.

Of the three aspects of language use, individuals generally find it easier to identify physical dynamics and interpersonal relationships than function. Answer to questions concerning where and with whom an individual uses a language variety are generally more concrete than answers concerned with the more subtle nuances of language use such as topic or emotional state.

Four types of 'original' questions were included in the Talysh Language Use Form: (a) questions pertaining to identification of individuals with whom the subject uses Talysh, (b) questions pertaining to the frequency of Talysh use by the subject with these individuals, (c) questions pertaining to the location in which the subject uses Talysh with these individuals and (d) questions pertaining to the subject's patterns of language use with family members of various ages and with other Talysh in the community of various ages.

Two types of level one questions were included in the Talysh Language Use Form: (a) questions pertaining to the typicality of the subject's language use patterns in relation to the patterns of language use exhibited by those with whom the subject uses Talysh, (b) questions pertaining to the general language use patterns of those with whom the subject uses Talysh.

Several level two questions were included in the Talysh Language Use Form. They pertained to the typicality of the individuals with whom the subject uses Talysh in relation to others with whom they use Talysh.

Finally, several level three questions were also included in the Talysh Language Use Form. The subject was asked to describe what they considered to be typical language use patterns in the community in the area of interpersonal relationships.

4.2 The Linguistic Profile: Vernacular Language Proficiency

4.2.1 *The Definition and Study of Language Proficiency*

Language proficiency is most frequently studied in the context of *assessment of linguistic performance* in a particular *environment*. The concepts of language performance, environment and assessment all contribute to an analysis of language proficiency.

Bachman (1997) identifies two defining elements of communicative language ability (*linguistic performance*): competence in the language and the capacity to use this competence.³⁴ Language ability, or 'proficiency' as it will be referred to in this thesis, is a combination of knowledge and skill. A variety of tools have been developed for the study of language proficiency. Some have focused more on the study of skills, some on the study of knowledge and some have attempted to study both.

A variety of assessment *environments* have been the focus of language proficiency studies. The most common types of environments are environments into

³⁴ Bachman (1990: 81) bases this description on a number of previous works on communicative competence (Hymes 1972b, 1973; Munby 1978; Canale and Swain 1980; Savignon 1983; Canale 1983) and on the use of competence (Widdowson 1983; Candlin 1986)

which the subject is entering and environments in which the subject is already functioning.

Assessment of language proficiency in environments into which the subject is entering serves the purpose of identifying the subject's ability to function linguistically in the environment. Foreign students entering into universities and workers seeking employment which requires the use of a language other than their first language are often tested for language proficiency in this regard.³⁵

Assessment of language proficiency in environments in which the subject is already functioning often serves a purpose unrelated to the subject. Many sociolinguistic studies related to topics such as language shift, bilingualism and language contact include language proficiency assessment of individuals in one or more language communities. These studies are initiated by the researcher and for the purposes of the researcher. The results of the study are usually not immediately relevant to the subject.³⁶

Two basic types of *assessment* have been used in the study of language proficiency. The first is assessment which utilizes an external standard. This involves the establishment of a standard of measurement and the construction of tools to compare individuals to this standard.³⁷ An example of this kind of

³⁵ The Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) is one such test which is commonly used by North American University for assessment of students' language abilities. This information is used in part to predict students' likelihood to perform well in the sociolinguistic environment of North American higher education. Nitko (1989) provides a good discussion of the issues related to the use of language proficiency assessment as a means of evaluating likelihood of performance success in educational environments. Many of these principles apply in other 'entered' environments such as the foreign workplace.

³⁶ This is not to say the subject cannot be involved in the research or take equal or greater interest than the researcher in the results. This also does not imply that this kind of research has no value for the subject. Many of these studies are conducted so as to assess how a community of language speakers can be assisted in their efforts to maintain or improve the status of their language in the community.

³⁷ External standard assessment approaches are often further divided into norm-referenced and criterion-referenced approaches. Cziko (1981) provides a good discussion of the differences between these two. Both follow the overarching principle of measuring the subject against externally identified points of measurement. Norm-referenced assessment measures the subject with reference to a group, typically a large one. The quintessential norm-referenced test is the standardized test as described by Gronlund

assessment is the United States Foreign Service language assessment standard. Individuals who are assessed are ranked according to a series of 11 levels of language proficiency from minimally proficient to native-speaker. Tests are constructed to measure a variety of language skills and areas of linguistic knowledge. These tests allow the subject of the tests to be ranked according to the external standard.

The second kind of assessment utilizes an internal standard of measurement. Internal-standard assessment does not rely on the prior establishment of a standard of measurement to which subjects are compared. Rather, in the course of assessment, the research itself defines the standard of measurement. Self-reporting is a commonly employed internal-standard method of assessment. Subjects are asked to share their perceptions of their own levels of language proficiency. The standard of measurement, by default, becomes the subject's point of view.³⁸

4.2.2 Defining the Linguistic Profile

In this study, the linguistic profiles of individuals focused on self-reports of language proficiency relative to others in the subject's social network. Self-reporting, relative to others, is a qualitative assessment approach with an internal standard of measurement. The assessment environment for this study was one in which

(1985). Criterion-referenced assessment measures the subject with reference to levels of ability or domains of content. Berk (1984) provides extensive discussion on the nature of criterion-referenced assessment.

³⁸ It is not uncommon in studies which employ self-reporting for some kind of external standard to be described and for the subject to be asked to compare themselves to this standard. Many of these studies make the assumption that in describing the external standard, the assessment becomes an external-standard assessment. This is an inaccurate assumption unless the description of the external standard has been given in great detail (not generally the case). In cases where the subject does not have a complete understanding of the external standard the subject, in actuality, gives information based on their own perception of the standard or in some cases, on their own standards.

Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal (1981) provide a good discussion of the value of internal-standard assessment which they refer to as 'subjective' assessment. Internal-standard assessment focuses on the subject's own perspective of their behaviour and performance as opposed to an outside 'objective' or external standard.

subjects were already functioning. Self-reporting by the subjects involved assessment of linguistic knowledge as well as language skills.

The 'original' questions in Talysh Proficiency Form all pertained to the subject's perception of their own Talysh language proficiency. These questions led to a wide variety of level one questions.

Five types of level one questions were included in the Talysh Proficiency Form: (a) questions pertaining to the subject's perception of their own Talysh language proficiency in relation to their family, (b) questions pertaining to the identification of individuals, other than the subject and the subject's family, who have better, equal or worse Talysh language proficiency than the subject, (c) questions pertaining to the demographic description of these individuals, (d) questions pertaining to the identification of family members who have better, equal or worse Talysh language proficiency than the subject,³⁹ and (e) questions pertaining to the subject's perception of their own typicality in relation to their family, their age group and the community.

Three types of level two questions were included in the Talysh Proficiency Form: (a) questions pertaining to the typicality of individuals identified in the level one questions (other than family members) relative to their age group and the community, (b) questions pertaining to the typicality of the subject's family's Talysh language proficiency patterns in relation to other families with which the subject is familiar, and (c) questions pertaining to the demographic description of these families.⁴⁰

³⁹ Demographic descriptions of these individuals were gathered from the General Information Form.

⁴⁰ These are classified as level two questions rather than level one because it was most often the case that the subject knew one or some of the family members but not all. The subject's description of the family as a whole would thus include level two information, even if some of the information was level one. Rather than

The Talysh Proficiency Form included two types of level three questions: (a) questions pertaining to the typicality of the families identified and described by the level two questions, and (b) questions pertaining to typical levels of Talysh language proficiency for individuals of various generation and age categories within the community.

4.3 The Social Profile: Frequency of Talysh-Speaking Individuals in Social Networks

4.3.1 *The Definition and Study of Social Networks*

Social network analysis is concerned with the description of relational patterns between individuals in the context of a group or society as a whole. The concept of social networks originates from social anthropology and has been the focus of extensive investigation in the social sciences. Milroy's (1980) Belfast study has been the most significant contribution to the study of social networks in a sociolinguistic context.⁴¹ Milroy identified three key components in social networks: *density*, *clusters* and *multiplexity*.

The *density* of a social network refers to the interconnectedness of the relationships within it. A high density network is one in which individuals relate mostly to one another. High density in social networks is one of the most common defining elements of a community, particularly in the context of non-geographically defined communities (NGDC). Density has been claimed to be influential in the establishment and enforcement of norms in a network (Cubitt 1973 and Milroy 1980). These norms include those related to sociolinguistic behaviour.

have the subject identify all of the members of these families and define the nature of their familiarity with each individual, this information was simply labeled (as a whole) 'second-level'.

⁴¹ Milroy did not introduce the concept of social networks but rather was the first to apply it in depth in the course of sociolinguistic research. Social network analysis is a sociological practice developed and practiced earlier than Milroy (Boissevain 1974; Boissevain and Mitchell 1973; Cubitt 1973) and referred to in other sociolinguistic references (Gumperz 1972, Gal 1979).

Network density is often studied in the context of network *clusters*. Cubitt (1973) defines network clusters as key sectors of density. She proposed four key clusters: kinship, neighbourhood, occupation and voluntary association.⁴² For Cubitt, the density of these key clusters is more influential in the establishment and enforcement of norms (including those related to sociolinguistic behaviour) than is overall network density.

Social network *multiplexity* refers to the variety of capacities in which members of a network relate.⁴³ Highly multiplex networks are ones in which a majority of the members relate within more than one key cluster. Multiplexity, like density, has been shown to be a strong normative influence in networks. It has been linked to a variety of sociolinguistic phenomena such as language processing and shift (Hulsen, De Bot and Weltens 2002), language maintenance (Schooling 1990) and the support of standard or non-standard language varieties (Labov 1972).

4.3.2 *Defining the Social Profile*

In this study a fourth element, insulation, is introduced into social network analysis. Network insulation is defined as extent of exposure to individuals who exhibit a given sociolinguistic behaviour. A highly insulated social network is one in which the majority of individuals in a person's social network exhibit a given sociolinguistic behaviour. This is being introduced because it is hypothesized that

⁴² Cubitt's concept of cluster is akin to Cochran et al. (1990) concept of relational characteristics in social networks.

⁴³ The concept of network multiplexity is akin to Boissevain's content characteristics of personal networks. Multiplexity is defined by the nature of the relationships involved in a network and the overlap of these natures in given relationships

exposure to individuals who practice a given sociolinguistic behaviour will affect a subject's own sociolinguistic behaviour.⁴⁴

The social profiles in this study focused on the frequency of vernacular-speaking individuals in subjects' social networks. The aspect of insulation was the major element in these profiles. Aspects of multiplexity, density and clustering in subjects' social networks were also included, however, in these profiles. Information was gathered on each Talysh-speaking individual who was identified in a subject's network. The subject was asked to give a general description of each individual, explain how they met and to define the nature of their current relationship. In addition, similar information was gathered on the social networks of each of these individuals.

For the social profile, network insulation was defined with reference to individuals who use Talysh as a major language of communication with the subject. This particular sociolinguistic behaviour was chosen as the focus of insulation measurement because it relates directly to the linguistic and sociolinguistic profiles (language proficiency and language use).

Three types of 'original' questions were included in the Social Network Form: (a) questions pertaining to the identification of individuals other than family members with whom the subject meets daily, at least once a week and at least once a month, (b) questions pertaining to the identification of Talysh-speaking individuals other than those mentioned in 'a', (c) questions pertaining to how the subject met these individuals.

⁴⁴ This is not an outrageous hypothesis. Exposure to others who practice a particular sociolinguistic behaviour has been claimed as influential on the sociolinguistic behaviour of an individual by many studies and researchers (Sankoff 1980, Schooling 1990, Milroy and Milroy 1992 and Hunt 1973 to name a few).

Three types of level one questions were included in the Social Network Form: (a) questions pertaining to the description of individuals with whom the subject meets daily or at least once a week, (b) questions pertaining to the description of these individuals, and (c) questions pertaining to the typicality of the subject in relation to these individuals.

Two types of level two questions were included in the Social Network Form: (a) questions pertaining to the typicality of the individuals identified by the level one questions in the insulation of their own social networks in relation to others in the subject's social network, and (b) questions pertaining to the description of individuals with whom the subject meets at least once a month.

Three types of level three questions were included in the Social Network Form: (a) questions pertaining to the typicality of the individuals identified by the level two questions in the insulation of their own social networks, and (b) questions pertaining to the typicality of the subject in the insulation of their social network in relation to the community, and (c) questions relating to the typicality of individuals identified in the level one and two questions in the insulation of their social networks in relation to the community.

CHAPTER FIVE

DESCRIBING VERNACULAR ORIENTATION TYPOLOGICALLY: AN ANALYTICAL METHOD

This is the concluding methodology chapter of this thesis. It looks at the theoretical and methodological principles behind typological analysis and defines the methods which this study employed in its typological analysis of variation in vernacular orientation. The entire process of typological analysis from the level of focus of description to classification of subjects into real categories is presented. As such, this chapter acts not only as a presentation of the concept of typological analysis, but it also provides a summary of the overall methodology of this thesis as the role of each methodological element is placed into the greater picture of the whole.

In the field of sociolinguistics, typological analysis has focused on variation in a wide range of contexts from large-scale environments such as regions or nations (Haugen 1972, Ferguson 1966, Stewart 1972) to medium-scale environments such as communities (Kloss 1973), to small-scale environments such as a typology of individual bilingualism (Schooling 1990) and a typology of speech act occurrences (Hymes 1980⁴⁵).

⁴⁵ Hymes uses the term 'taxonomy' instead of typology.

The principles of typological analysis remain constant regardless of the research environment. What differs from one study of typological analysis to another is the nature of the components being analyzed. This study sought to define the various stages which are evident in the majority of typological analyses in order to arrive at a description of a common process of typological analysis.⁴⁶

Most typological analyses can be defined as the classification of subjects into real categories according to differentiating criteria. There are six key concepts within this definition: (a) focus of description, (b) examples of the focus of description, (c) points of differentiation, (d) differentiating criteria, (e) identification of probable subject type categories and (f) classification of subjects into real categories.

As an example, each of these six concepts can be seen in Landweer's (2000) study of ethnolinguistic vitality in minority communities. Landweer's focus of description is minority communities and her chosen examples of the focus are minority communities in Papua New Guinea. Several aspects of these communities were then chosen to be studied. These included code switching, economic stability, etc. These aspects were the points of differentiation for the study, the elements within the communities which Landweer chose to describe.

Next, for each aspect of interest (point of differentiation) a set of criteria for analyzing differences between the communities was needed. For example, Landweer chose to look at domains of language use as the criteria for measuring differences in patterns of code switching in the communities. This produces a wide range of probable community types. In theory, each of the various possible patterns of code switching could be represented in one or more of the communities. In

⁴⁶ This is a new attempt in the field of typological analysis. Most typological analyses define the various stages of their own research but none have described the process of typological analysis as a global concept.

actuality, however, Landweer ultimately identifies a much smaller subset of community types which she found to actually exist.

As can be seen in the above example from Landweer, the 6 concepts and their interaction can be understood in terms of 5 hierarchical relationships. These will be referred to as 'component relationships' as each one represents the relationship between elements lower in the hierarchy (components) with an element directly above them. The five component relationships are: (a) the relationship between the focus of description and examples of the focus of description, (b) the relationship between examples of the focus of description and 'points of differentiation', (c) the relationship between points of differentiation and 'criteria of differentiation', (d) the relationship between criteria of differentiation and 'identification of probable subject type categories', and (e) the relationship between identification of probable subject type categories and 'classification of subjects into real categories'.

The hierarchy represented by these relationships is illustrated in Figure 7. The relative ordering of the components illustrates the order in which the methodology related to the components is developed. Development of a given component requires each of the components above it to have already been developed. In order for criteria of differentiation to be developed, for example, the levels of subject and subject type must have already been defined.

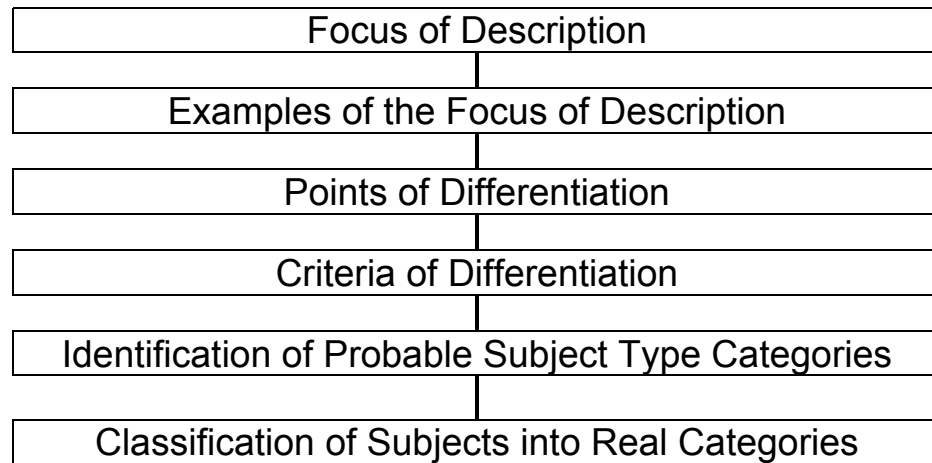


Figure 7: Hierarchy of Components in Typological Analysis

In the remainder of this chapter, the nature of the individual components involved in the relationships as well as the nature of the relationships themselves are described. Section 5.1 describes the relationship between the focus of description and examples of the focus of description. Section 5.2 then looks at the relationship between examples of the focus of description and points of differentiation. This is followed by a description in section 5.3 of the relationship between the points of differentiation and the criteria of differentiation.

The final two sections of this chapter look at the two component relationships directly related to the establishment of subject type categories. Section 5.4 describes the relationship between criteria of differentiation and identification of probable subject type categories. Section 5.5 then looks at the relationship between identification of probable subject type categories and classification of subjects into real categories.

5.1 The Relationship between the Focus of Description and Examples of the Focus of Description

The first two concepts in the definition of typological analysis are focus of description and examples of the focus of description. These two concepts make up

the focus-example component relationship. The function of the focus-example relationship is one of definition. The first step for every typological analysis is to define what is to be described. This will in turn allow for a definition of what may be considered an example of this focus of description.

In his typology of national multilingualism, Stewart (1972) provides an example of the focus-example relationship in typological analysis. The goal of his study is “the development of a comparative framework for describing national multilingualism by suggesting a technique for describing national sociolinguistic situations”(533). The focus of description for his study is thus ‘nations which exhibit national multilingualism’. He defines a nation as a ‘polity’, a body of individuals residing within a geographic boundary, governed by a set of policies to which all are beholden (paraphrase). Within his definition he includes “not only nation-states, but also non-sovereign colonies and territories” (531). He defines national multilingualism as “the [official, functional] use within a single polity of more than one language” (531).

Based on this definition, Stewart draws the boundaries for inclusion as an example of the focus of description. Nations such as the United States do not qualify as their governing policies do not provide for a functional use at the national level of more than one language. India, Nigeria and Switzerland, on the other hand, do qualify as they have more than one officially supported national language.

Stewart’s typology seeks an inclusive relationship between the focus of description and his chosen examples. His typology seeks to provide a framework by which all nations which exhibit national multilingualism can be classified. An inclusive relationship between the focus of description and examples of the focus of description is one in which all possible examples are defined. This is considered by

many to be the ideal focus-example relationship as it allows for an exhaustive description of variation within the focus of description. Not all focus-example relationships, however, are inclusive. Selective and normative focus-example relationships are also possible.

A selective focus-example relationship is one in which the examples are chosen so as to represent a subset of the total possible examples of the focus of description. Selective focus-example relationships in typological analysis are generally the focus of research which seeks to shed light on particular aspects of the focus of description which are especially evident in or relevant to the chosen subset of examples. Returning to Landweer's research into indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality in Papua New Guinea we find a selective focus-example relationship.

At an earlier stage in her work (1998), Landweer focused on the study of her indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality in two Papua New Guinea minority communities. These two communities were chosen as representative examples of the greater collection of minority communities throughout Papua New Guinea. They are not expected to exhaustively cover the range of variation which exists within this collection. Landweer states: "The relative strengths of these indicators have yet to be studied and documented in the Papua New Guinean context...with this note of caution, a discussion of the eight indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality...follows." (66) With an ultimate goal of compiling a set of indicators which could be applied to the greater context of Papua New Guinea, Landweer has selected two examples of such communities which do not exhaustively cover the range of variation within the total pool of communities but do provide the beginnings of an understanding of the nature of the variation.

When the scope of the focus of description is broad, a normative focus-example relationship is often the goal of typological analysis. In a normative focus-example relationship the examples represent generalities in the scope of variation within the total pool of possible examples. These generalities represent the basic or fundamental example types which exist and cover a large majority, but not all, of individual cases. Schooling's typology of individual bilingualism in New Caledonia involves a normative focus-example relationship.

The focus of Schooling's typology is ultimately on classification of individual patterns of multilingualism. He defines his focus of description as individuals exhibiting at least bilingualism, recognizing that ultimately patterns of bilingualism are simply the starting point for understanding multilingualism. He identifies the representative (as opposed to exhaustive) relationship between bilingualism and multilingualism: "It is easiest to account for just two languages at a time...but in theory nothing prevents these concepts from being applied to a multilingual situation." (93)

Defining the focus-example relationship in typological analysis plays an important role in establishing both the scope of a study as well as the range of its application.

5.2 The Relationship between Examples of the Focus of Description and Points of Differentiation

Following the definition of the focus of description and examples of the focus of description, typological analysis must establish a system of differentiation. Differentiation is the focus of the relationship between examples of the focus of description and points of differentiation. Points of differentiation are defined as features for which subject types can be seen to exhibit particular characteristics,

allowing for the identification of points of similarity between some types and differences between others. What is to be described about the focus of description defines the points of differentiation.⁴⁷

A typological analysis generally incorporates several points of differentiation in its research goals. Hunt (1973) includes four points of differentiation, in his study of “factors related to language choice in those societies which do not have rigid barriers between linguistic groups and which may contain fairly large proportions of the populace with some degree of multilingual ability.”(112) He identifies four basic factors (points of differentiation) which affect the language choices of individuals (the subject type) in non-geographically defined, multilingual communities (the subject). He attempts to classify individuals in relation to each of the factors/points of differentiation. What results is a typological analysis through which individuals within non-geographically defined, multilingual communities can be categorized according to their patterns of language choice.

Points of differentiation in typological analysis can often be phrased as questions. Landweer (2000) for example, phrased her points of differentiation as underlying questions. Table 6 in chapter 4 referred to several examples of these underlying questions.

Each of these questions points to areas in which examples of the focus of description can be identified as similar or different from one another. They also define what it is that the research will be seeking to study about these examples of the focus of description. Just as the focus-example relationship defines the scope of the research, the relationship between the points of differentiation and examples of

⁴⁷ For example, if (a) the focus of description is the community, (b) examples of the focus of description are defined as individuals within the community and (c) the research goal is the identification of levels of bilingualism (Schooling 1990), then the point of differentiation is levels of bilingualism.

the focus of description defines the scope of the typological analysis. It identifies the exact areas of interest which will become the focus of typological classification.

5.3 The Relationship between Points of Differentiation and Criteria of Differentiation

Points of differentiation define the areas in which variation will be analyzed.

In order to actually identify similarities and differences between examples of the focus of description within these areas, typological analysis relies on criteria of differentiation. The relationship between points of differentiation and criteria of differentiation is one of process. Criteria of differentiation define how the points of differentiation will identify the desired features of research in the chosen examples of the focus of description. Each point of differentiation requires at least one set of criteria.

Returning to Landweer's (2000) indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality we find an example of clearly defined criteria of differentiation for the points of differentiation which drive her research. Landweer presents her points of differentiation as "underlying questions". For each underlying question she suggests indicators (criteria of differentiation) of characteristics in examples of the focus of description which are relevant to the focus of the underlying question.

For example, the underlying question for the indicator of 'domains in which the vernacular is used' is given as: "Is their sufficient use of the target language throughout community life?"(10). Landweer suggests a set of criteria for identifying use of the target language throughout community life which focus on two aspects of target language use: (a) physical domains of language use and (b) extent of language use in these domains. The criteria of differentiation can be defined by a series of questions: (i) Is the language used in the home?; (ii) Is the language used during cultural events?; (iii) Is the language used during social events?; (iv) Is the

language used in other physical domains?; and (v) Is the language the major language of communication in any of the above domains in which it is used?

Not all criteria of differentiation are as hierarchical as this example from Landweer. Some criteria of differentiation are non-hierarchical. They categorize examples of the focus of description according to a number of independent variables. An example of non-hierarchical criteria of differentiation can be found in Slavik's (2001) study of language use among Maltese immigrants in British Columbia, Canada.⁴⁸

One of the points of differentiation in Slavik's analysis is patterns of interpersonal language use. For this point of differentiation nine groups of persons are identified with whom individuals have the possibility of speaking Maltese and English. They are grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, spouse, siblings, friends, children and grandchildren. Each individual can be classified as using English only, Maltese only, more English than Maltese or more Maltese than English with each of these groups of persons. The result is a differentiation process which has the possibility of distinguishing between a large number of typological categories.

Table 8 illustrates the range of possibilities which exist within Slavik's categorization process. The nine groups of persons represent nine independent variables, each with the possibility of exhibiting one of four values. The four values are the language choice possibilities of Maltese only (M), English only (E), mostly Maltese (ME) and mostly English (EM). As each variable can exhibit any of these

⁴⁸ Slavik does not take her analysis to the point of a complete typology. This example looks simply at the process by which she categorizes individuals on the basis of non-hierarchical criteria of differentiation. The analysis of her criteria of differentiation as a combination of variables is a perspective of this thesis and not a part of Slavik's own presentation of her data.

four values, independently of the values exhibited by other variables, a total of 4^9 ($4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4$) or 262,144 possible patterns of interpersonal language use are possible.

Table 8: Patterns of Interpersonal Language Use Analyzed as Interaction of Variables

Pattern #	Grand Father	Grand Mother	Father	Mother	Spouse	Friend	Sibling	Child	Grand Child
1	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
2	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	ME
3	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	EM
4	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	E
5	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	ME	M
6	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	EM	M
7	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	E	M
8	M	M	M	M	M	M	ME	M	M
9	M	M	M	M	M	M	EM	M	M
...									
87346	ME	ME	ME	ME	EM	EM	EM	E	E
87347	ME	ME	ME	ME	EM	EM	EM	E	M
87348	ME	ME	ME	ME	EM	EM	EM	E	ME
87349	ME	ME	ME	ME	EM	EM	EM	E	EM
87350	ME	ME	ME	ME	EM	EM	EM	M	E
...									
262140	E	EM	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
262141	M	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
262142	ME	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
262143	EM	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
262144	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E

This is an extreme example of criteria of differentiation with a large number of variables. Non-hierarchical categorization does not require differentiation according to a large number of variables. It is possible for criteria of differentiation to be hierarchical or non-hierarchical whether the number of variables representing the criteria are numerous or as few as two. The most complex criteria of differentiation are those which are both non-hierarchical and represented by a large number of variables. The complexity of individual criteria of differentiation can be described by two continua which measure hierarchical nature and multiplexity: (a) the continuum of gradience and (b) the continuum of multiplexity.

The continuum of gradience describes the level of hierarchy which a particular set of criteria creates between subjects once differentiation has occurred. At the extremes of this continuum are sets of criteria which place subjects into limitlessly leveled categories (maximally gradient) and sets of criteria which place subjects into non-leveled, non-hierarchical categories (minimally gradient).

An example of a maximally gradient set of criteria would be differentiation of subjects according to exact age. An infinite number of exact age categories exists. Differences between the ages of subjects can be measured in minutes, seconds, milli-seconds, nano-seconds, etc. Each category can be placed into a hierarchy between categories of younger subjects and categories of older subject.

An example of a minimally gradient set of criteria would be differentiation of subjects according to gender. No hierarchy can be identified between the two categories of male and female.

The continuum of multiplexity describes the complexity of categorical possibilities which is created by the criteria of differentiation. At the multiplex end of this continuum are two kinds of criteria: (a) non-hierarchical criteria with a large number of variables and (b) hierarchical criteria with a large number of levels within the hierarchy.⁴⁹ At the other extreme of this continuum are sets of criteria which place subject types into two mutually exclusive categories (polar criteria). At this end are non-hierarchical or hierarchical criteria with a single variable for which only two values are possible.

Differentiation of subjects according to age, in addition to being maximally gradient, is an example of an extremely multiplex set of criteria. An example of a

⁴⁹ Theoretically this extreme of the continuum has no fixed point. A maximally multiplex set of criteria would be one which has an infinite number of variables within a non-hierarchical set of criteria or an infinite number of levels within a hierarchical set of criteria.

non-hierarchical but still extremely multiplex set of criteria would be differentiation of subject according to name. There are a very large number of possible names which can be given to an individual, but no inherent hierarchy can be said to exist between these possibilities.

Differentiation of subjects according to gender, in addition to being non-hierarchical, is an example of a minimally multiplex set of criteria (polar criteria). An example of a hierarchical, minimally multiplex set of criteria is a simplified differentiation of subjects according to age. If two basic age categories are used for differentiating between subjects, such as young and old, these function as minimally multiplex, hierarchical categories.

Figure 8 illustrates the interaction of the continuum of gradience and the continuum of multiplexity. Criteria of differentiation can be defined by where they fit within this interaction. The simplest criteria fit into the bottom right quadrant. The most complex fit into the top left quadrant.

It is most common for typological analyses with inclusive focus-example relationships to utilize complex sets of criteria of differentiation and for those with selective or normative focus-example relationships to utilize simple sets. This is not a rule, but rather an observation. This tendency is understandable since exhaustive representation of all possible examples of the focus of description generally requires more detailed differentiation than that required by non-exhaustive representation.

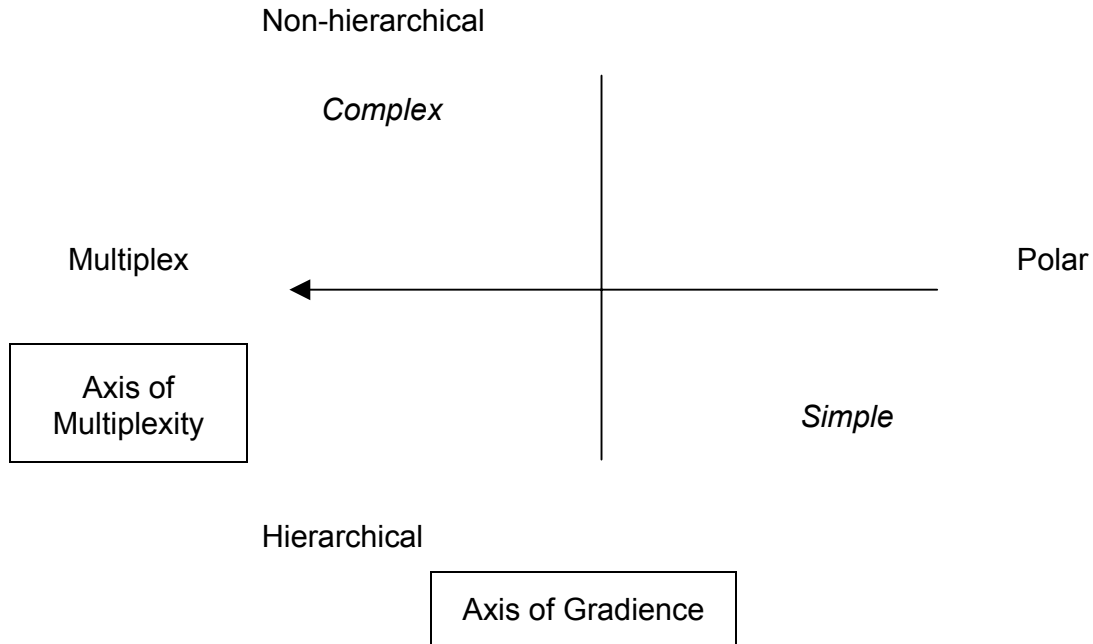


Figure 8: Gradiance-Multiplexity Grid for Criteria of Differentiation⁵⁰

5.4 The Relationship between Criteria of Differentiation and Identification of Probable Subject Type Categories

When criteria of differentiation have been established for each point of differentiation identification of probable subject type categories can begin. It is at this stage of typological analysis that a move is made from theoretical possibility to logical expectations. The relationship between criteria of differentiation and identification of probable subject type categories is one of contextualization. Criteria of differentiation identify what kinds of patterns ‘could’ exist in a completely random world. Identification of probable subject type categories involves an assessment of the specific research context for the purpose of revealing which of these possible patterns may be realistically expected to exist.

Probable categories are generally much less numerous than the entire range of theoretical possibility. This is particularly the case with research employing

⁵⁰ The continuum of multiplexity has its left-most extreme represented by an arrow. This indicates the infinite nature of this end of the continuum (see note 4).

complex criteria of differentiation. For example, in Slavik's study of language use among Maltese immigrants to British Columbia, Canada there were a total of 262,144 theoretically possible subject types (see Table 8). Many of these subject types were not relevant to the research context, however.

The reasons for this much smaller number of probable subject types are varied. Some theoretically possible subject types prove to be improbable – logically impossible in the chosen research context. Returning to Slavik's study, for example, we find a situation in which the use of Maltese is greatly influenced by the home. In this context, Maltese will always be used more by an individual in the home than outside it. This eliminates a large body of theoretical possibilities from the realm of 'logical' or 'practical' possibilities. Any theoretical subject type which represents the use of Maltese with friends but not with family members, for example, can be ruled as logically or practically impossible.

Other theoretically possible subject types prove to be counter indicative of trends in a research community. In Slavik's study, for example, there was a trend in the Maltese community of British Columbia that Maltese was used more with older individuals than with younger. Knowledge of this kind of trend allows a large number of theoretically possible subject types to be ignored. In this case, categories which represent use of Maltese with younger individuals but not older individuals can be ruled out.

This stage of typological analysis is important. It allows the researcher to approach the subject of research with informed hypotheses which are relevant to the research context.⁵¹

⁵¹ This stage is particularly important for research which employs informed methods of subject selection. Knowing which subject type categories can be expected allows for good subject selection choices.

5.5 The Relationship between Identification of Probable Subject Type Categories and Classification of Subjects into Real Categories

This is the final stage in typological analysis. It is at this stage that data analysis occurs and a typology is constructed. The relationship between identification of probable subject type categories and classification of subjects into real categories is one of realization.

At this stage the researcher moves from the hypotheses presented by the list of 'probable' subject type categories to identification of which of these categories actually exist among subjects within the focus of description.

CHAPTER SIX

A TYPOLOGY OF POSITIVE VERNACULAR ORIENTATION AMONG THE TALYSH OF SUMGAYIT

Chapter 6 is the first of two chapters which present the findings of this research. The chapter has three sections. In section 6.1 the complete process of typological analysis which was employed by this study is described. In sections 6.2 and 6.3 the real subject type categories which were identified in the Talysh community of Sumgayit are described in terms of how they represent the population.

6.1 The Process of Typological Analysis in this Thesis

The focus of description for this study was the Talysh community of Sumgayit and examples of the focus of the description were defined as individuals of Talysh ethnicity living in Sumgayit. The desired relationship between the focus of description and the examples was normative.

The points of differentiation for the typological analysis were the profile categories as described in chapter four. Subjects were differentiated according to four sets of criteria of differentiation: (a) criteria pertaining to the identification of physical domains in which the Talysh language is used (the sociolinguistic profile), (b) criteria pertaining to the identification of age-groups with whom the Talysh language is used (the sociolinguistic profile), (c) criteria pertaining to the identification of levels of Talysh language proficiency (the linguistic profile), and (d)

criteria pertaining to the frequency of Talysh speaking individuals in social networks (the social profile).

6.1.1 Criteria of Differentiation

6.1.1.1 Criteria Pertaining to the Sociolinguistic Profile: Talysh Language Use

The two points of differentiation for the sociolinguistic profile were patterns of Talysh language use in physical domains and patterns of interpersonal Talysh language use. For each of these points of differentiation a set of criteria was developed.

For the description of patterns of language in physical domains a non-hierarchical, multiplex set of criteria was constructed. Eight physical domains in which individuals were presumed to have the potential to use Talysh were chosen. These were: the home, the workplace, religious centres, teahouses, the street, school, informal business locations, and formal business locations.⁵² As with Slavik's typology of interpersonal language use, each of these physical domains were treated as independent variables. For each of these variables, subject types had the possibility of exhibiting two values: (a) use of Talysh as a major language of communication and (b) no use of Talysh as a major language of communication.⁵³ Thus, subject types had the theoretical possibility of exhibiting 2^8 ($2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$) or 256 different patterns.

Table 8 above illustrated how Slavik's independent variables had the theoretical possibility of producing a large series of patterns based on their

⁵² Due to the methodological approach of this thesis, the data collection tools which were developed to elicit information for these criteria did not explicitly identify this eight-domain system of classification. This was a set of criteria which was developed for use by the researcher for typological analysis. These were domains which were presumed to be common enough that patterns of language use within them would readily be identified by subjects. The actual data collection methods employed subject-driven, open ended queries in elicitation of patterns of language use in the physical domains.

⁵³ In this category both no use of Talysh and the use of Talysh, but not as a major language of communication are included.

interaction. In a similar manner, table 9 below illustrates the range of patterns which was made theoretically possible by the eight independent variables which represented the criteria of differentiation used for identification of Talysh language use patterns in physical domains in this study. For each of the variables the value 'T' is assigned if Talysh is used as a major language of use and the value '0' is assigned if Talysh is not used as a major language of communication in the domain.

Table 9: Possible Patterns of Talysh Language Use in Physical Domains

Pattern #	Home	Workplace	Religious Centres	Teahouses	Street	School	Informal Business	Formal Business
1	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
2	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	0
3	T	T	T	T	T	T	0	T
4	T	T	T	T	T	T	0	0
5	T	T	T	T	T	0	T	T
...								
129	0	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
130	0	T	T	T	T	T	T	0
131	0	T	T	T	T	T	0	T
132	0	T	T	T	T	T	0	0
133	0	T	T	T	T	0	T	T
...								
252	0	0	0	0	0	T	0	0
253	0	0	0	0	0	0	T	T
254	0	0	0	0	0	0	T	0
255	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	T
256	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Description of interpersonal Talysh language use patterns also employed a non-hierarchical, multiplex set of criteria.⁵⁴ Six age groups with whom individuals were presumed to have the potential of using Talysh were defined. These were: ages 1-6 (preschool), ages 7-16 (school age), ages 17-30 (age for university attendance, army service and marriage), ages 31-45 (child-rearing years), ages 46-60 (middle aged), ages 60+ (retirees).

Talysh language use with each of these age groups was treated as an independent variable. For each of these variables, subject types once again had the

⁵⁴ These criteria could be considered hierarchical in the sense that a relative hierarchy naturally exists between age-groups. However, no initial evaluation was made concerning the relative sociolinguistic importance of language use with any particular age-group in relation to others.

possibility of exhibiting two values: (a) use of Talysh as a major language of communication and (b) no use of Talysh as a major language of communication.

The interaction of these variables had the theoretical possibility of exhibiting 2^6 ($2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$) or 64 different patterns.⁵⁵

Table 10 illustrates the theoretically possible range of interpersonal Talysh language patterns. As in table 9, for each of the variables the value 'T' is assigned if Talysh is used as a major language of use and the value '0' is assigned if Talysh is not used as a major language of communication with the age-group.

Table 10: Possible Patterns of Interpersonal Talysh Language Use

Pattern #	1-6	7-16	17-30	31-45	46-60	60+
1	T	T	T	T	T	T
2	T	T	T	T	T	0
3	T	T	T	T	0	T
...						
33	0	T	T	T	T	T
34	0	T	T	T	T	0
35	0	T	T	T	0	T
...						
62	0	0	0	0	T	0
63	0	0	0	0	0	T
64	0	0	0	0	0	0

Just as the eight variables related to Talysh language use in physical domains and the six variables related to interpersonal Talysh language use were treated as independent, so the two sets of variables (two sets of criteria of differentiation) were designed to be treated as independent of one another. Thus the two sets of criteria together had the theoretical potential to produce 2^{14} or 16,384 unique patterns of Talysh language use. One could arrive at an illustration of the

⁵⁵ As will be elaborated on further in chapter five, both of the criteria pertaining to patterns of Talysh language use were modified as the data revealed them to over-differentiate. What are presented here are the initial criteria with which the research started in these categories.

range of patterns which this would cover by combining all of the variables from Tables 9 and 10 into one criteria of differentiation.

6.1.1.2 Criteria Pertaining to the Linguistic Profile: Talysh Language Proficiency

The point of differentiation for the linguistic profile was Talysh language proficiency. The set of criteria which was developed for differentiation of language proficiency was hierarchical and multiplex.⁵⁶ Four levels of Talysh language proficiency were used to differentiate individuals: (a) good active proficiency, (b) low active proficiency, (c) passive proficiency, and (d) negligible proficiency. Good active proficiency was defined as a level of proficiency which allowed for use of Talysh in all situations with all individuals as needed, without difficulty. Low active proficiency was defined as a level of proficiency which allowed for individuals to use Talysh either (a) in all situations with all individuals as needed but with occasional difficulty or (b) in most situations with most individuals as needed, without difficulty.

Passive proficiency was defined as a level of proficiency which allowed individuals to understand some Talysh as it is used by those around them even though they cannot speak it themselves. Negligible proficiency was classified as a level of proficiency which restricted individuals from understanding or using Talysh in any situation.

6.1.1.3 Criteria Pertaining to the Social Profile: Social Networks

The point of differentiation for the social profile was frequency of vernacular speaking individuals in a subject's social networks. The set of criteria which were developed to indicate differentiation in this regard were hierarchical and multiplex.

⁵⁶ In some senses, these criteria were polar as they distinguished between active and inactive use as a primary distinction. They could be labeled 'weighted polar' so as to recognize this primary distinction. Weighted polar criteria have a primarily polar distinction which is then subdivided into secondary categories. Weighted polar criteria fit exactly in the centre of the polarity continuum (figure 3). They share qualities of both polar and multiplex criteria.

Four categories were used to differentiate between individuals: (a) individuals with social networks in which Talysh speaking individuals frequently participated, (b) individuals with social networks in which a mixture of Talysh speaking and non-Talysh speaking individuals participated, (c) individuals with social networks in which Talysh speaking individuals infrequently participated, and (d) individuals with social networks in which Talysh speaking individuals never or very rarely participated.

6.1.1.4 A Summary of the Criteria of Differentiation

The four sets of criteria of differentiation which were developed to create categories of subject types within each of the individual profiles are summarized in Table 11 according to the points of differentiation for which they were created, the profiles to which they are related and their classification according to gradience and multiplexity.

Table 11: Summary of the Criteria of Differentiation

Criteria of Differentiation	Point of Differentiation	Related Profile	Gradience and Multiplexity
Use of the vernacular in: the home, the workplace, religious centres, teahouses, the street, school, informal business locations, formal business locations	Patterns of language use in physical domains	Sociolinguistic	Non-hierarchical, Multiplex
Use of the vernacular with individuals of the ages: 1-6, 7-17, 18-30, 30-45, 45-60, 60+	Patterns of language use in interpersonal domains	Sociolinguistic	Non-hierarchical, Multiplex
Language proficiency levels of: good active proficiency, low active proficiency, passive proficiency, negligible proficiency	Language proficiency	Linguistic	Hierarchical, Multiplex (Weighted-Polar)
Occurrence of vernacular speaking individuals in social networks: frequent, mixed, infrequent, non-existent	Levels of insulation in social networks	Social	Hierarchical, Multiplex

6.1.2 Identification of Probable Subject Type Categories

Analysis of the research data revealed overdifferentiation in the criteria related to patterns of language use. Several generalizations pertaining to the original 8 physical-domain variables and 6 interpersonal-domain variables were

discovered in preliminary data. These generalizations allowed for the variables to be collapsed into a more general system of differentiation.

Two generalizations were revealed by the data regarding the interaction of the 8 physical-domain variables: Talysh was not used in formal situations, and Talysh is used in the home if it is used anywhere.

With reference to the formal/informal dichotomy, location is not as important as who is present and what function is being performed. The more formal a function is the less likely Talysh is to be used to perform it. The more formal a relationship with an individual is, the less likely Talysh is to be used between individuals. Thus Talysh is never used in the domains of school or formal business since these are both considered to be formal domains.

Beyond the formal/informal dichotomy no clear line was drawn between where, with whom, or when Talysh was or was not used other than distinction between the domain of the home and all other domains. Individuals reported using Talysh in the teahouse, in the post-office, on the street and at the store at various times and with various people. It was difficult for most interviewees to classify any of these places, relationships or times as typical or atypical for Talysh use.⁵⁷

The domain of the home was reported to be a particularly unique domain with reference to Talysh language use. In general, it was said that any individual who uses Talysh at all will minimally use it in the home with family members.⁵⁸

A third generalization was revealed by the data regarding the interaction of the original 6 interpersonal-domain variables. Individuals reported differences only

⁵⁷ What was reported was the important role that the generation/arrival-birth factor played on the likelihood of an individual using Talysh with others in social settings. This more than the nature of the time, place or individual was said to be influential on Talysh language use patterns.

⁵⁸ This is true only when the family context is one in which Talysh is viable.

between the use of Talysh with adults and with children. No distinction was made between the use of Talysh with pre-school children as opposed to with school age children. Similarly, the distinction between various adult age groups was not significant for patterns of Talysh language use.

As a result of these three generalizations the criteria of differentiation for classifying subject types according to patterns of language use in physical and interpersonal domains was reduced to a single set of criteria with 4 variables. These variables were: (a) Talysh language use with children at home, (b) Talysh language use with adults at home, (c) Talysh language use with children in informal social domains and (d) Talysh language use with adults in informal social domains.

The original physical-domain variables pertaining to Talysh language use in the workplace, religious centres, teahouses, the street and informal business locations were all reduced to a single variable denoting Talysh language use in informal social domains. Talysh language use in the domains of school and formal business was excluded from representation as these were reported to be formal domains in which Talysh was not used.

The original interpersonal-domain variables pertaining to Talysh language use with individuals of the ages of 17-30, 31-45, 46-60 and 60+ were reduced to a single variable denoting patterns of Talysh language use with individuals ages 17 and older. The variables pertaining to Talysh language use with children ages 1-6 and children ages 7-16 were reduced to a single variable denoting patterns of Talysh language use with individuals ages 1-16.

As with the original variables, each of the new variables had the possibility of being assigned one of two values indicating the level of Talysh language usage in the domain: (a) use of Talysh as a major language of communication and (b) no use

of Talysh as a major language of communication in the domain. The new criteria of differentiation resulted in a total of 16 probable subject types. These are illustrated in Table 12.

Table 12: Probable Subject Types for Language Use

Type #	At Home		Socially	
	With Children	With Adults	With Children	With Adults
1	T	T	T	T
2	T	T	T	0
3	T	T	0	T
4	T	T	0	0
5	T	0	T	T
6	T	0	T	0
7	T	0	0	T
8	T	0	0	0
9	0	T	T	T
10	0	T	T	0
11	0	T	0	T
12	0	T	0	0
13	0	0	T	T
14	0	0	T	0
15	0	0	0	T
16	0	0	0	0

The criteria of differentiation related to proficiency in the Talysh language and levels of insulation in social networks both proved to adequately differentiate between types of individuals. The probable subject type categories were, thus, identical to the original variables defined by the criteria of differentiation.

6.1.3 Real Subject Type Categories in the Talysh Community of Sumgayit

A total of 13 types of individuals with positive vernacular orientation were identified in the Talysh community of Sumgayit. Positive vernacular orientation was ascribed to individuals who had active Talysh proficiency and used Talysh as a major language of communication in one or more domains. The range of individual types was smaller than the range of probable categories which was expected. The reasons for this can be summarized as a series of generalizations which were revealed by the data.

Two generalizations concerning patterns of languages were revealed: (a) Talysh is not used with children in social situations and (b) those who use Talysh with children at home also use it with adults in the home and socially.

As a result of generalization 'a' the list of probable categories given in Table 12 was further reduced to those indicated in Table 13.⁵⁹

Table 13: Individual Types which do not use Talysh with Children in Social Situations

Type #	At Home		Socially	
	With Children	With Adults	With Children	With Adults
3	T	T	0	T
4	T	T	0	0
7	T	0	0	T
8	T	0	0	0
11	0	T	0	T
12	0	T	0	0
15	0	0	0	T

As a result of generalization 'b' the list of types in Table 13 can be further reduced to those given in Table 14.

Table 14: Actual Individual Types for Talysh Language Use

Type #	At Home		Socially	
	With Children	With Adults	With Children	With Adults
3	T	T	0	T
11	0	T	0	T
12	0	T	0	0
15	0	0	0	T

For the typology, the types of Table 14 will be labeled according to the domains in which individuals use Talysh rather than with type numbers. Table 15 lists each of the types with their labels. The label 'C' represents Talysh language use with children in the home (and thus also adults in the home and adults socially).

⁵⁹ The type #s correspond to the types listed in table 12.

The label 'A' represents Talysh language use with adults both in the home and socially. The label 'H' represents Talysh language use with adults in the home and 'S' represents Talysh language use with adults in social situations.

Table 15: Labeled Language Use Types

Type #	At Home		Socially	
	With Children	With Adults	With Children	With Adults
C	T	T	0	T
A	0	T	0	T
H	0	T	0	0
S	0	0	0	T

These four types of individuals can be further typologized according to their Talysh language proficiency and the isolation of their social networks (completing the set of typological criteria defined for this study). Here, the interaction of patterns of Talysh language use, patterns of Talysh proficiency and patterns of social network insulation were shown, once again, to produce a smaller range of actual types than were considered probable.

The interaction of the probable categories for (a) the Talysh language proficiency criteria of differentiation and (b) the social network insulation criteria of differentiation, led to the realistic expectation that 16 different types of individuals would exist in the Talysh community of Sumgayit with respect to the linguistic and social profiles. Those with passive or negligible Talysh language proficiency were considered not to have positive vernacular orientation and thus are not part of the typology of this thesis. Those with no Talysh in their social networks are also not included as this makes the use of Talysh impossible. This leaves a total of 6 types which were realistically expected to exist with respect to the linguistic and social

profiles. These are summarized in Table 16 and labeled in the manner in which they will be referred to by the typology of this thesis.

Table 16: Typological Labels for Proficiency and Social Network Insulation

		Frequency of Talysh Individuals in Social Network		
		Frequent	Mixed	Infrequent
Talysh Proficiency	Good Active	GF	GM	GI
	Low Active	LF	LM	LI

The interaction of the 4 positive types of language use patterns of Table 15 and the 6 types of proficiency/network patterns of Table 16 allowed for the realistic expectation of 24 individual types. These types are listed below in Table 17. The proficiency/network patterns of each type are given in column 1. The language use patterns of each type are given in column 2. The label which will be used by this thesis to represent the types which result from the combination of all the variables are given in column 3.

Table 17: A Reduced List of Probable Subject Types

Proficiency/ Network Type	Language Use Type	Type
GF	C	GFC
GF	A	GFA
GF	H	GFH
GF	S	GFS
GM	C	GMC
GM	A	GMA
GM	H	GMH
GM	S	GMS
GI	C	GIC
GI	A	GIA
GI	H	GIH
GI	S	GIS
LF	C	LFC
LF	A	LFA
LF	H	LFH
LF	S	LFS
LM	C	LMC
LM	A	LMA
LM	H	LMH
LM	S	LMS
LI	C	LIC
LI	A	LIA
LI	H	LIH
LI	S	LIS
LEGEND		
Talysh Proficiency Labels	Talysh Language Use Labels	Social Network Insulation Labels
G: Good Active L: Low Active P: Passive N: Negligible	C: Use with Children in Home, Adults in home and Adults Socially A: Use with Adults in Home and Socially S: Use with Adults Socially H: Use with Adults in Home X: No Use	F: Frequent Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals M: Mixed Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals I: Infrequent Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals

The data revealed that only 13 of the 24 subject types listed in table 17 actually exist in the Talysh community of Sumgayit. The reasons for this smaller range of types can be summarized by 4 generalizations:

- (a) Only those who use Talysh at home were reported to have good active Talysh language proficiency.
- (b) Only those who use Talysh at home and socially were reported to also have Talysh speaking individuals frequently take part in their social networks.
- (c) Those who use Talysh at home and socially were reported to have either mixed or frequent contact with Talysh individuals in their social networks.
- (d) Those who have good active proficiency and mixed or frequent contact with Talysh in their social networks were reported to use Talysh at least in social situations.

Table 18 lists the actual subject types which were revealed by the data to exist in the Talysh community of Sumgayit. As with Table 17, the proficiency/network patterns of each type are given in column 1 and the language use patterns of each type are given in column 2. In column 3, note is made of any generalization which blocks the realization of the given type. Those types which do not contradict any of the generalizations are given a label in column 4. These labels will be used to refer to the types in the typology which follows.

Table 18: Actual Types

Proficiency/ Network Type	Language Use Type	Eliminated by Generalization	Type
GF	CHS		GFC
GF	HS		GFA
GF	H	(b), (d)	
GF	S	(a), (b)	
GM	CHS		GMC
GM	HS		GMA
GM	H	(d)	
GM	S	(a)	
GI	CHS	(c)	
GI	HS	(c)	
GI	H		GIH
GI	S	(a)	
LF	CHS		LFC
LF	HS		LFA
LF	H	(b)	
LF	S	(b)	
LM	CHS		LMC
LM	HS		LMA
LM	H		LMH
LM	S		LMS
LI	CHS	(c)	
LI	HS	(c)	
LI	H		LIH
LI	S		LIS
LEGEND			
Talysh Proficiency Labels	Talysh Language Use Labels	Social Network Insulation Labels	
G: Good Active L: Low Active P: Passive N: Negligible	C: Use with Children in Home, Adults in home and Adults Socially A: Use with Adults in Home and Socially S: Use with Adults Socially H: Use with Adults in Home X: No Use	F: Frequent Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals M: Mixed Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals I: Infrequent Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals	

6.2 Representation of the Population by the Types

The 13 actual subject types are not evenly distributed throughout the population. To study the distribution of these types among the population we need to categorize the population. The overwhelming consensus expressed during interviews was that the most influential factors for all three profiles were the generation and arrival-birth variables. Typical individuals were very often described as typical with reference to their generation and arrival-birth categories. As such, the generation and arrival-birth variables have been chosen to guide the division of the general Talysh population of Sumgayit into categories.

Eleven distinct population categories can be identified from the research on the basis of generation and time of arrival or birth in Sumgayit. These are shown in Table 19 below. It is these population categories which will be used to describe the distribution of the types throughout the population.

Table 19: Population Categories

Time of Arrival or Birth in Sumgayit	Generations		
	First	Second	Third
Before 1965	Category 1A	Category 2A	
1965-1980	Category 1B	Category 2B	Category 3B
1981-1991	Category 1C	Category 2C	Category 3C
1991 to Present	Category 1D	Category 2D	Category 3D

5.3 Distribution of the Types throughout the Population

Table 20 shows how each of the thirteen types listed in Table 18 above are distributed throughout the population categories (Table 19) which were reported to be represented by the type. In cases where estimates were made by research subjects regarding the percentage of a population category that a particular type represents a number is given and the cell is darkly shaded. In cases where the type is reported to be represented in a population category but no estimate of exact

percentage of representation was made the cell is lightly shaded. The 'other' row represents the estimated percentage of the population category who do not use Talysh as a major language of communication anywhere or with anyone.⁶⁰

Table 20: Types Representing Various Population Categories

	1A	1B	1C	1D	2A	2B	2C	2D	3B	3C	3D
GFC											
GMC											
GFA	10%	10%			10%	5%					
GMA	65%	40%	10%	10%	25%	15%					
LFC											
LMC											
LFA											
LMA		20%	10%	10%							
GIH	10%	20%	50%	20%	25%	10%					
LMH						15%	10%		5%		
LIH	5%		10%	20%				5%	5%	5%	5%
LMS											
LIS											
Other	5%	5%	10%	30%	30%	50%	65%	75%	75%	75%	85 %
LEGEND											
Talysh Proficiency Labels				Talysh Language Use Labels				Social Network Insulation Labels			
G: Good Active L: Low Active P: Passive N: Negligible				C: Use with Children in Home, Adults in home and Adults Socially A: Use with Adults in Home and Socially S: Use with Adults Socially H: Use with Adults in Home X: No Use				F: Frequent Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals M: Mixed Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals I: Infrequent Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals			

The remainder of this chapter has been divided into four sections. Section 6.3.1 looks at trends in the distribution of Talysh Language Proficiency across the

⁶⁰ Some of these types of individuals may use Talysh as a minor language of communication and/or may participate in Talysh language activities but only passively due to personal passive levels of Talysh proficiency.

population categories. In a similar manner, section 6.3.2 looks at trends in the distribution of Talysh Language Use across the population categories. Section 6.3.3 then looks at trends in the distribution of Social Network Insulation across the population categories. Finally, section 6.3.4 makes several generalizations concerning the data of Table 20 based on the trends discussed in all the previous three sections.

6.3.1 Distribution of Talysh Language Proficiency

Active Talysh Language Proficiency appears to be declining in the Talysh community of Sumgayit as time progresses. This decline is more pronounced between generations than between periods of arrival or birth in Sumgayit. Table 21 summarizes the reported distribution across the population categories of Active Talysh Language Proficiency.

Table 21: Distribution of Active Talysh Language Proficiency

	1A	1B	1C	1D	2A	2B	2C	2D	3B	3C	3D
G	85%+	70%	60%+	30%+	60%	30%					
L	5%+	20%+	20%+	30%+	>5%	15%+	10%+	5%+	10%+	5%+	5%+
G/L	90%+	90%+	80%+	60%+	65%	45%+	10%+	5%+	10%+	5%+	5%+
LEGEND G: Good Active, L: Low Active											

Two trends can be seen Table 21. First, there is a steep drop across generations in Good Active Talysh Language Proficiency. This can be seen in the difference between generations in overall reported levels of Good Active Talysh Language Proficiency. A significant percentage of individuals in all first generation population categories are said to have Good Active Talysh Language Proficiency. This is in contrast to the second generation in which significant levels of Good Active Talysh Language Proficiency are said to be exhibited only among individuals born before 1980. In the third generation Good Active Talysh Language Proficiency is said to be non-existent.

Second, the decline in overall Active Talysh Language Proficiency within the first generation (from 90%+ to 60%+) is said to be less extreme than the decline within the second generation (from 65%+ to 5%+). This is due to the fact that in the first generation, as Good Active Talysh Language Proficiency declines, Low Active Talysh Language Proficiency is said to increase (from 5%+ to 30%+). This is not as much the case in the second generation where overall Low Active Talysh Language Proficiency is said to decline along with Good Active Talysh Language Proficiency.

6.3.2 Distribution of Talysh Language Use

Levels of Talysh Language Use are reported to be declining in the Talysh community of Sumgayit as time passes. The data in Table 20 reveals a more pronounced decline in Talysh Language Use across generations than across periods of arrival or birth in Sumgayit. This is similar to the nature of the decline in Active Talysh Language Proficiency. Table 22 gives a summary of the reported distribution across the population categories of Talysh Language Use.

Table 22: Distribution of Talysh Language Use

	1A	1B	1C	1D	2A	2B	2C	2D	3B	3C	3D
C	>5%										
S	>5%	>5%	>5%	>5%	>5%	>5%	>5%	>5%	>5%	>5%	>5%
H	15%+	20%+	60%+	40%+	25%+	30%+	10%+	5%+	10%+	5%+	5%+
A	75%+	70%+	20%+	20%+	35%+	20%+					
H/A	90%+	90%+	80%+	60%+	60%+	50%+	10%+	5%+	10%+	5%+	5%+
<p>LEGEND C: Use with Children in Home, Adults in home and Adults Socially A: Use with Adults in Home and Socially S: Use with Adults Socially H: Use with Adults in Home X: No Use</p>											

Several initial observations can be made regarding the data in Table 22. First, the use of Talysh with children in the home seems to be rare. Talysh is only said to be used with children in the home by a few first generation individuals who came to Sumgayit before 1965. Second, the use of Talysh only in informal social

situations with adults is also reported to be uncommon. Even though, some individuals in all population categories are said to only use Talysh in informal social situations with adults, the percentage of this type of individual in each population category is reportedly quite small.

In addition to these initial observations, two significant trends can be seen in Table 22. First, there is a steep decline across generations in the use of Talysh with adults in the home and informal social situations. A significant percentage of individuals in all first generation population categories are said to use Talysh with adults in the home and informal situations. In the second generation, however, only among individuals born before 1980 is the use of Talysh with adults in the home and informal situations said to be common. Among the third generation, no one is said to use Talysh with adults both in the home and in informal social situations.

Second, the decline within the first generation in the use of Talysh with adults in the home and informal situations (from 90%+ to 60%+) is said to be less extreme than the decline within the second generation (from 60%+ to 5%+). This is due to the fact that in the first generation, as use of Talysh with adults in the home and informal social situations declines, use of Talysh with adults only in the home is said to increase. This is not as much the case in the second generation where use of Talysh only with adults in the home is generally reported to decline along with use of Talysh with adults in the home and informal social situations.

6.3.3 Distribution of Social Network Insulation

Frequency of Talysh-speaking individuals in individuals' social networks is reported to be declining in the Talysh community of Sumgayit as time passes. The data in Table 20 reveals a pronounced decline in social network insulation across generations as well as across certain periods of arrival or birth in Sumgayit. Table

23 gives a summary of the reported distribution across the population categories of Social Network Insulation.

Table 23: Distribution of Social Network Insulation

	1A	1B	1C	1D	2A	2B	2C	2D	3B	3C	3D
F	10%+	10%+			10%+	5%+					
M	65%+	60%+	20%+	20%+	25%+	30%+	10%+		5%+		
I	15%+	20%+	60%+	40%+	25%+	10%+		5%+	5%+	5%+	5%+
F/M	75%+	70%+	20%+	20%+	35%+	35%+	10%+	5%+	5%+	5%+	5%+
LEGEND F: Frequent Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals M: Mixed Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals I: Infrequent Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals											

Two trends are revealed by the data of Table 23. The first is a steep decline across generations in the frequency of Talysh persons in individuals' social networks. Among first generation individuals who arrived before 1965, 75%+ are reported to have mixed or frequent participation of Talysh persons in their social networks. This drops to a reported 20%+ among first generation individuals who arrived after 1991. This is in contrast to what is reported concerning the second generation population categories. Only 35%+ of second generation individuals born before 1965 are reported to have mixed or frequent participation of Talysh persons in their social networks. This drops to a reported 5%+ among second generation individuals who were born after 1991. Among third generation individuals in all population categories 5%+ are reported to have mixed or frequent participation of Talysh persons in their social networks.

The second trend is a sharp contrast in the first and second generations between those born before 1980 and those born after. Among first generation individuals, those born before 1980 are reported to most commonly have mixed or frequent participation of Talysh persons in their social networks (75% for 1A and 70% for 1B). This is in contrast to reports that a significantly smaller percentage of

those born after 1980 have mixed or frequent participation of Talysh persons in their social networks (20%+ for 1C and 1D). The same contrast can be seen in the second generation where 35% of individuals born before 1980 are said to have mixed or frequent participation of Talysh persons in their social networks but a far smaller number of those born after 1980 have mixed or frequent participation of Talysh persons in their social networks (10%+ for 2C and 5%+ for 2D).

6.3.4 Generalizations Concerning Patterns of Vernacular Orientation

The most significant aspects of the observations made in sections 6.3.1, 6.3.2 and 6.3.3 can be summarized by the following 2 generalizations:

1. Positive vernacular orientation is decreasing in the Talysh community of Sumgayit. Active Talysh language proficiency is lower among the second generation than the first generation and very low among the third generation. Talysh language use outside the home shows a similar decrease across generations. Few among the second generation and none among the third generation use Talysh as a major language of use with their children.
2. Differences in levels of positive vernacular orientation in the community are more pronounced between generations than between arrival-birth periods. This was illustrated above by tables 21, 22 and 23 (along with the discussion following these tables). Talysh language proficiency and patterns of Talysh language use, in particular, revealed this trend.

CHAPTER SEVEN

AN ANALYSIS OF FACTORS INFLUENCING TYPOLOGICAL VARIATION IN THE TALYSH COMMUNITY OF SUMGAYIT

An additional process has been added to the methods of typological analysis employed in this study which is not present in all typological analyses. An analysis is made of key factors influencing typological variation within the sociolinguistic profiles. This is a process which occurs after data has been collected and a typology has been constructed. It involves the assessment of extra-typological data in order to suggest an explanation for the typological data.

Following the typology of individuals constructed in chapter six, this chapter considers the overarching sociolinguistic context of the Talysh community of Sumgayit into which the typological information can be placed. An attempt is made to identify and describe factors in this overarching sociolinguistic context and then to assess the interaction of these factors and the typological categories. The data on which this additional analysis is based were part of the overall body of data collected during the course of research. This analysis of factors addresses the second research goal presented in chapter four: analysis of the typology “to ascertain the causes for vernacular orientation”.

There are three sections in this chapter. In section 7.1 a summary of the key domains of sociolinguistic influence identified by subjects is given. In section 7.2, the nature of each of these domains is then presented, also as identified by subjects. The final section of this chapter, 7.3, attempts to connect the information presented in section 7.2 with the typology of chapter 6. This connection is made in three

stages for each of the areas of focus within this thesis (Talysh language proficiency, patterns of Talysh language use and insulation of social networks): (a) key elements identified in the domain descriptions of section 7.2 are summarized as a series of components relevant to the area of focus, (b) for each individual component a variable is proposed which can be used to represent the component, and (c) the nature of the interaction of these components in producing typological variation within the Talysh community of Sumgayit is presented in the form of cause and effect charts.

7.1 Key Factors Influencing Typological Variation

A significant amount of information was gathered from subjects pertaining to the influence of key sociolinguistic factors in causing the typological variation shown in chapter 6. The majority of this information was elicited in response to questions on typicality. Responses to two sets of questions in particular proved to be useful in this regard. Questions 14a-b and 15a-c on the Talysh Proficiency Form opened up numerous discussions with subjects on the nature of various types of Talysh families in Sumgayit and what has caused the differences between these types. The topic of these discussions, in most cases, went beyond Talysh language proficiency to touch on issues related to Talysh language use and social network patterns. The value of this information was accentuated by the fact that the majority of it was either original or first-hand (level-one) information. It concerned individuals within subjects' immediate sphere of experience and relationship.

In addition to these two sets of questions, responses to several other sets of questions provided helpful information concerning key sociolinguistic influences in the Talysh community of Sumgayit. Responses to question 26 on the General Information Form, "How has Sumgayit changed in the last 5/10/20 years?" in many

cases included information concerning trends in vernacular orientation. This was particular true in interviews with first generation subjects who felt the change in vernacular orientation most strongly of all the generations.

Questions concerning personal interaction of the subject with others were also useful. They provided many opportunities for discussions on the role of Talysh in personal interactions within the Talysh community of Sumgayit. These questions generally provided opportunity for subjects to describe the nature of their relationship with various other Talysh individuals and the role which vernacular orientation plays in these relationships. Such questions were: question sets 5-9 on the Talysh Language Use Form (concerning with whom, where and for what Talysh is used by the subject); questions 27i and 28i on the General Information Form (concerning how subjects met their spouses); and question 10 on the Social Network Form (concerning how subjects met the Talysh individuals with whom they interact).

Consideration of the body of responses to the above questions and the discussions they encouraged with subjects revealed an overall opinion within the Talysh community of Sumgayit that there are three major domains of sociolinguistic influence: (a) family context, (b) life context and (c) attitudes, particularly ethno-linguistic identity. The overwhelming majority of information pertaining to sociolinguistic influences in the community lent itself to categorization into one of these three domains.

7.2 The Nature of Key Domains of Sociolinguistic Influence

7.2.1 The Family Context

The context of the family was expressed as the most important sociolinguistic influence on an individual in the Talysh community of Sumgayit. While it was recognized by most subjects that language influences outside of the family were

important to take into consideration, the influence of the family far outweighed other influences in the majority of individual cases.

Two types of sociolinguistic influence within the family context were frequently mentioned by subjects. The first was parental language orientation. The second was the nature of language use in the home with regard to the various members who live in a household on a permanent basis.

7.2.1.1 Parental Language Orientation

Good active Talysh language proficiency was most often attributed to an individual's growing up in a home where both parents spoke Talysh as their first language and where parents chose to speak Talysh with one another. Anything less than this was reported to make it far less likely that an individual would have good active Talysh proficiency.

Two types of influences were considered common in determining whether or not parents would use Talysh with each other and their children in the home. The first was the parents' own Talysh language proficiency. Here generational differences were said to be marked. First generation individuals who arrived in Sumgayit before 1965 were said to be quite likely to have good active Talysh language proficiency. Parents not from this population category were said to be mixed in their Talysh language proficiency.

By the late 60's, differentiation in Talysh language proficiency in the Talysh region of Azerbaijan was already accelerating. There was a strengthening dichotomy between mountain vs. lowland and rural vs. urban areas of the region. Overall Talysh language proficiency patterns among the Talysh population in the Talysh region was changing. From the late 60's onward it became much more common for individuals who came to Sumgayit from lowland, urban areas of the

Talysh region to have less than good active Talysh language proficiency. Thus, first generation individuals who arrived after 1965 were varied in their Talysh language proficiency much more than those who arrived before 1965.

Second generation individuals, as parents, were reported to not only be mixed in their Talysh language proficiency but to be more likely not to use Talysh with one another because one or the other had a language other than Talysh as their first language. Situations in which at least one parent does not consider Talysh to be their first language are said to be more common the later an individual arrived or was born in Sumgayit.

The second cause of parental language orientation was said to be parental attitudes. Parental use of Talysh was said to depend not only on their own Talysh language proficiency but on how they felt about the use of Talysh between themselves and with their children. Here too generational differences were often mentioned. The later an individual arrived or was born in Sumgayit the less likely they were to want to speak Talysh in their home with a spouse or a child. This was more often expressed as the result of positive attitudes concerning the use of another language such as Russian or Azerbaijani, not the result of negative attitudes concerning the use of Talysh. This is not to say that negative attitudes towards the use of Talysh in the home do not exist among the Talysh of Sumgayit. Rather, a strong desire to use a language other than Talysh in the home is said to be more commonly the cause of a lack of Talysh use by parents than negative attitudes towards Talysh.

7.2.1.2 Other Talysh Individuals in the Home

Some individuals identified growing up with others in their home whose first language was Talysh as an influential factor in producing low active or good active

Talysh language proficiency. This was not as commonly reported as influential as was parental language orientation. When reported as influential, reports on the influence of other Talysh speaking members of a household were generally given by individuals who had experienced the influence themselves. Grandparents, uncles or other relatives whose first language was Talysh and who lived in an individual's home during the individual's childhood were sometimes said to be influential in producing Talysh language proficiency. Rarely was this proficiency reported to be anything more than Low Active, however.

Marriage was said to be an important element in an adult's Talysh language proficiency development or maintenance. An individual who grew up with some kind of Talysh language influence in their home was not likely to maintain Talysh language proficiency unless they married someone who also was proficient at least at a low active level in Talysh and who was willing to use it at home. This was not an uncommon report. However, when reported by individuals who had not married a Talysh individual it was more common for the supposed influence of marrying a Talysh individual to be exaggerated.

Reports from individuals who had actually married Talysh individuals themselves were more conservative. The general perception of the Talysh community of Sumgayit as a whole was that if two Talysh individual's with at least some Talysh language proficiency married, their Talysh language proficiency would improve over time. In actuality, what was gathered from first hand reports from Talysh individuals who had actually married other Talysh speakers was that if one or the other individual spoke another language better than they spoke Talysh, that language was most likely to be used instead of Talysh in communication between the two. What is indicated by these reports is that marriage may be considered a

potential language proficiency maintenance factor if both individuals have good active Talysh language proficiency and consider it to be their first language.

7.2.2 The Life Context

An individual's life context was said to be defined by a combination of decisions and circumstances. An individual's decisions concerning education, occupation, political affiliation and hobbies were the kinds of decisions most often mentioned in the interviews. Circumstances that were mentioned were most often of two types, personal or social.

The particular focus of this thesis with regard to social network analysis was on the frequency of Talysh individuals in the social networks of the Talysh community in Sumgayit. Whether the result of decisions made in their life or circumstances which had occurred in their life, the life context of an individual was said to affect the insulated nature of their social networks.

7.2.2.1 Life Decisions

A wide variety of life decisions were said to influence the frequency of Talysh individuals in a person's social network and the importance of these decisions was said to have become much more important in recent years than it has ever been in Sumgayit. It was a common perception among individuals of all generations and ages that since the fall of the Soviet Union life in Sumgayit has become increasingly dependent on one's personal connections and ethnolinguistic identity plays a large role in establishing connections.

When the Republic of Azerbaijan became independent in the early 90's the socioeconomic milieu of Sumgayit changed radically. When Sumgayit was first built and its new population came from all over to work in the factories, it was quite common for social networks to follow patterns established prior to migration. An

individual from a particular region would be very likely to look for other individuals from that region to associate with, preferably someone close or even related. It was more common than not for Talysh individuals to have a high frequency of other Talysh in their social networks.

However, as time went on, the socioeconomic atmosphere created by Soviet socialist policy of a classless society was reported to result in more mixed social networks. The highly multicultural nature of Sumgayit and the growing trend of interethnic marriages were said to slowly create a situation where social networks were more often based on one's neighbourhood or one's place of work. As both living quarters and work were provided by the government an individual often associated with others not of their own choice but simply as a result of what came to be their life context.

All this was said to have changed drastically in the early 90's when massive unemployment, ethnic conflict and political instability quickly came to define the socioeconomic context of Sumgayit along with the rest of the republic. For the first time in half a century, citizens of Sumgayit were dependent on themselves for survival and not a socialist system. Social networks today are rarely defined by one's occupation or education. They are on the other hand reported to be dependent on economic endeavours, political affiliation and personal interests such as sports, language or culture.

Economic endeavours were often reported as highly influential on the frequency of Talysh individuals in a person's social network. The major reason for this is said to be the highly productive nature of the Talysh region to which a Talysh individual has access through friends and family if they play their Talysh ethnicity as an asset.

Socially oriented decisions were also reported to be influential on the frequency of Talysh individuals in a person's social network, although less so than economic. Many new clubs and social groups have sprung up in Sumgayit. These serve a variety of functions from political parties, sports clubs, writers groups or organizations in the propagation of Talysh language and culture. As many individuals decide to join these kinds of social groups, their social networks change and become intertwined with the social structure and membership of these groups.

7.2.2.2 Circumstances

The influence of life's circumstances on an individual's social network was not mentioned as often in the interviews as the influence of life decisions. It was generally individual's who had experienced influential circumstances themselves or their close friends and family who generally made mention of the influence of circumstances on their social networks.

Some individuals who have had accidents and have become handicapped reported to have had their social networks drastically altered as a result of the change their lifestyle was forced to undergo. It is quite often, particularly in extreme cases of injury, that the individual has their social networks reduced to family and one or two close friends. If the individual is Talysh, this generally makes the relative frequency of Talysh individuals in their social networks significantly higher than when their lives were more active and mobile.

In a similar vein, important events in a person's life were occasionally reported to influence their social networks. The death or sickness of a relative sometimes was said to often bring families and friends together out of need for support, increasing the frequency in which fellow Talysh individuals spent time together. A man whose father-in-law has died and left the family business without

anyone to take over may need to help his in-laws out for a while by running the business. This brings him into social contact with his father-in-law's social network. In the current socioeconomic milieu of Sumgayit it is possible that this network will become the man's own after a certain period.

7.2.3 Attitudes

The label 'attitudes' is a catch-all for a number of personally related motivations for an individual's sociolinguistic behaviour. It is used here to refer to an array of personal inclinations and opinions which were reported to affect an individual's social networks and patterns of language use. The reported effects of attitudes on these two areas of sociolinguistic behaviour will be summarized below.

Attitudes being complex in themselves, attitudes were also reported to in turn be affected by both an individual's family context and life context. The effects of these contexts on attitudes will not be dealt with here in detail. The research questions did not focus specifically enough on the development of attitudes to make any concrete descriptions of how they are formed. However, some generalizations can be taken from the data.

Three generalizations can be made regarding subjects' views on the effect of life context and family context on attitudes towards the vernacular. The first is that individuals more often emphasized the importance of life context over family context in developing their own attitudes but were more prone to describe the family context as the major influence on the development of the attitudes of others. The reasons for this were not completely revealed but when asked, it was suggested by some interviewees that both are influential but it is harder to identify attitudes in oneself that have developed out of one's family context than those that have developed out of one's life context. Life context is in some ways more concrete in its influence. In

describing others, however, it is easier to watch them relate to their family and make the connection between attitudes and their family context. Whatever the case, both family context and life context were said to be key in affecting attitudes towards the vernacular.

Second, attitudes towards the vernacular were reported as being dependent more on long-term influences than short-term. This being the case one's attitudes were most often reported to reflect one's generation, the social context of one's childhood and the issues which were relevant for one's parents when one was growing up. An individual's personal history was pointed to as the key to understanding their attitudes.

Lastly, it was nearly a unanimous opinion among subjects that attitudes towards the vernacular had a much greater potential of affecting a person's sociolinguistic patterns when they were negative than when they were positive. Positive attitudes towards the vernacular were often expressed as a reinforcing agent for vernacular orientation which was already mildly or strongly positive. Negative attitudes were said to have the potential of negating the effects of an otherwise positive orientation towards the vernacular.

7.3 The Interaction of the Influential Domains and Typological Variation

7.3.1 Variation in Talysh Language Proficiency

Three influences were identified by subjects as influential on Talysh language proficiency. Two of these were related to the family context in which an individual grew up. The first and most influential of these was the Talysh orientation of the parents. The second was the Talysh orientation of other individuals in the home. The third influence was that of social use of Talysh throughout one's life. This was

said to be less influential on one's level of proficiency and more influential on the maintenance of one's proficiency.

The family context influences were reported to play a large role in defining where an individual started off in life in terms of proficiency. The social use influence was said to mostly define improvement or decline in proficiency.

Each of the three influences can be expressed as variables and assigned labels for the purpose of describing their effect on subjects' sociolinguistic patterns. Six basic types of parental Talysh orientation combinations were identified in the interviews. Talysh orientation was defined in terms of Talysh language proficiency and Talysh language use in the home. A parent was said to have positive Talysh orientation if they had good active Talysh language proficiency and used Talysh in the home with adults and children. A parent was said to have neutral Talysh proficiency if (a) they had Low Active Talysh proficiency (with an assumed good active proficiency in a language other than Talysh) and used it in the home with adults and children, or (b) they had Good Active Talysh proficiency but used it only with adults in the home. A parent was said to have negative Talysh orientation if: (a) they had Good Active or Low Active Talysh proficiency but did not use it in the home, or (b) they had Passive or no active Talysh language proficiency.

As each parent could be given the label of positive (+), neutral (0) or negative (-) in their Talysh orientation, the six basic parental combinations can be represented by the following labels: ++P, +0P, +-P, 00P, 0-P, and -P.

The home factor and social use of Talysh factor can also be labeled. If an individual in a subjects childhood home, other than a parent, had positive Talysh orientation (Good Active Talysh proficiency, used in the home with adults and

children) then a subject's home factor was consider positive (+H), otherwise it was considered negative (-H).

If an individual uses Talysh as a major language of communication then their social use of Talysh was considered to be positive (+U). Otherwise it was considered to be negative (-U).

Table 24 lists the theoretically possible combinations of these variables.

Table 24: Theoretically Possible Combinations of Variables Affecting Talysh Language Proficiency

Combination #	Parental Orientation	Home Factor	Social Use of Talysh
1	++P	+H	+U
2	+0P	+H	+U
3	+ -P	+H	+U
4	00P	+H	+U
5	0-P	+H	+U
6	--P	+H	+U
7	++P	+H	-U
8	+0P	+H	-U
9	+ -P	+H	-U
10	00P	+H	-U
11	0-P	+H	-U
12	--P	+H	-U
13	++P	-H	+U
14	+0P	-H	+U
15	+ -P	-H	+U
16	00P	-H	+U
17	0-P	-H	+U
18	--P	-H	+U
19	++P	-H	-U
20	+0P	-H	-U
21	+ -P	-H	-U
22	00P	-H	-U
23	0-P	-H	-U
24	--P	-H	-U

Not all of the possible combinations of these variables was reported to be significant. If the parental variable was ++P, the 'other in the home' variable was said not to matter significantly. (This collapses (a) combinations 1 and 13 into a single combination and (b) combinations 7 and 19 into a single combination.)

If neither parent had positive Talysh orientation and no one else in the home did either, then the 'social use' variable did not matter significantly. (This collapses

(a) combinations 24 and 18 into a single combination, (b) combinations 16 and 22 into a single combination and (c) combinations 17 and 23 into a single combination.)

If neither parent had positive Talysh orientation and the individual did not use Talysh socially, then the only situation which would result in positive Talysh language proficiency (and that only over time) was if there was someone else in the home who had positive Talysh orientation. (This eliminates combinations 16/22, 24/18 and 17/23.)

Table 25 gives a reduced list of variable combinations which were said to affect Talysh language proficiency. There are 16 combinations. The combination numbers correspond to those in table 24.

Table 25: A Reduced List of Variable Combinations Affecting Talysh Language Proficiency

Combination #	Parental Orientation	Home Factor	Social Use of Talysh
1/13	++P	+H or -H	+U
2	+0P	+H	+U
3	+ -P	+H	+U
4	00P	+H	+U
5	0-P	+H	+U
6	--P	+H	+U
7/19	++P	+H or -H	-U
8	+0P	+H	-U
9	+ -P	+H	-U
10	00P	+H	-U
11	0-P	+H	-U
12	--P	+H	-U
14	+0P	-H	+U
15	+ -P	-H	+U
20	+0P	-H	-U
21	+ -P	-H	-U

These 16 combinations of variables were reported to produce 6 distinct patterns of Talysh language proficiency. These patterns are the following:

(1) Good active, stable Talysh proficiency

- (2) Good active or low active Talysh proficiency, declining slowly over time
- (3) Low active, stable Talysh proficiency
- (4) Low active Talysh proficiency, declining slowly over time
- (5) Passive or Low active Talysh proficiency, improving over time
- (6) Low active or passive Talysh proficiency, declining over time

These six patterns and the variable combinations which were reported to produce them are shown in figure 9 below. The shaded bars represent the range of Talysh language proficiency which is covered by a particular pattern. Patterns which involve improvement or decline are indicated with arrows inside their shaded bar. Each pattern has been labeled with a number which corresponds to the pattern numbers in the list of patterns above. The variable combinations which produce a pattern are listed above or below the pattern number.

7.3.2 Variation in the Frequency of Talysh Individuals in Social Networks

An individual's social networks were reported to be affected by two sets of influences, life context and attitude towards the vernacular. The life context influences were said to set the general tone and attitudes tended to affect these one way or the other. So, the influence of life context will be considered first and then the influence of attitude will be presented as influences towards adjustment on the tendencies promoted by the influence of life context.

Three elements of life context were identified as influential on sociolinguistic behaviour: economic endeavours, participation in social groups and personal circumstances. The influence of each can be measured in terms of variables whose

values can be expressed on a three level scale. Each can be labeled (a) +, indicating an influence which increases the frequency of Talysh individuals in a person's network, (b) 0, indicating a neutral influence, or (c) -, indicating an influence which decreases the frequency of Talysh individuals in a person's social network. Table 26 lists the twenty-seven theoretically possible combinations of these variables.

Table 26: Theoretically Possible Combinations of Life Context Variables Affecting Insulation of Social Networks

Combination #	Economic Variable	Social Variable	Circumstances
1	+E	+S	+C
2	+E	+S	0C
3	+E	+S	-C
4	+E	0S	+C
5	+E	0S	0C
6	+E	0S	-C
7	+E	-S	+C
8	+E	-S	0C
9	+E	-S	-C
10	0E	+S	+C
11	0E	+S	0C
12	0E	+S	-C
13	0E	0S	+C
14	0E	0S	0C
15	0E	0S	-C
16	0E	-S	+C
17	0E	-S	0C
18	0E	-S	-C
19	-E	+S	+C
20	-E	+S	0C
21	-E	+S	-C
22	-E	0S	+C
23	-E	0S	0C
24	-E	0S	-C
25	-E	-S	+C
26	-E	-S	0C
27	-E	-S	-C

The influence of economic endeavours was said to be the most influential of the three variables with participation in a social group a close second. Personal circumstances were said to not be as influential as economic endeavours or participation in a social group.

Not all of the combinations of variables were said to produce noticeable change in social network patterns. In cases where positive influence existed in an individual's life context both in the area of economic endeavours and participation in social groups the existence of personal circumstances was redundant. (This collapsed combinations 1, 2 and 3 in table 20 into a single combination.)

Likewise, in cases where negative influence existed in an individual's life context both in the area of economic endeavours and participation in social groups the existence of personal circumstances was redundant. (This collapsed combinations 25, 26 and 27 into a single combination.)

Table 27 gives a reduced list of variable combinations which were said to affect the insulation of individual's social networks. There are 23 combinations. The combination numbers correspond to those in table 26.

Table 27: A Reduced List of Life Context Variable Combinations Affecting Insulation of Social Networks

Combination #	Economic Variable	Social Variable	Circumstances
1/2/3	+E	+S	
4	+E	0S	+C
5	+E	0S	0C
6	+E	0S	-C
7	+E	-S	+C
8	+E	-S	0C
9	+E	-S	-C
10	0E	+S	+C
11	0E	+S	0C
12	0E	+S	-C
13	0E	0S	+C
14	0E	0S	0C
15	0E	0S	-C
16	0E	-S	+C
17	0E	-S	0C
18	0E	-S	-C
19	-E	+S	+C
20	-E	+S	0C
21	-E	+S	-C
22	-E	0S	+C
23	-E	0S	0C
24	-E	0S	-C
25/26/27	-E	-S	

These 23 combinations of variables were reported to produce 5 distinct patterns of insulation in social networks. These patterns are the following.⁶¹

- (1) Frequent participation by Talysh speaking persons in an individual's social network
- (2) Frequent or mixed participation by Talysh speaking persons in an individual's social network
- (3) Mixed participation by Talysh speaking persons in an individual's social network
- (4) Mixed or infrequent participation by Talysh speaking persons in an individual's social network

⁶¹ The definitions of the terms 'frequent', 'mixed', and 'infrequent' used to describe the insulation of individuals' social networks in the patterns below are those given in chapter 3.



In addition to being affected by life context, the insulation of subjects' social networks were reportedly affected by two aspects of attitude. The first is

ethnolinguistic identity and the second is general attitudes towards the vernacular which includes a wide array of attitudes other than those related to ethnolinguistic identity which were said to affect sociolinguistic behaviour.

These attitudinal influences were said to have one of three potential effects on an individual's social network patterns: (a) where identity and other attitudes were both positive, an individual was said to be more likely to interact with Talysh individuals; (b) where either or both of the two types of attitudes was negative, an individual was said to be less likely to interact with Talysh individuals; (c) where either or both of the types of attitudes were neutral and none of them were negative, effect on social networks was said to be minor. Negative attitudes were said to affect an individual's social networks more than positive ones.

The effects of attitude on social network patterns can be seen in a comparison of the reported social network patterns of individuals with neutral attitudes (one or both of the attitudinal variables were neutral and neither was negative) and those of individuals with positive (both variables were positive) or negative (at least one variable was negative) attitudes. Table 28 makes this comparison. Column 1 lists the life context variable combinations which were said to produce the 5 social network patterns given in figure 6.

Column 2 in table 28 shows the patterns of social network insulation which were said to be exhibited by individuals with the life context variable combinations given in column 1 and neutral attitudes. (These are identical to those shown in figure 6.) Column 3 shows the patterns of social network insulation which were reported for individuals with the same life context variable combinations but who have positive attitudes (both identity and 'other' attitudes are positive). Column 4

shows the patterns of social network insulation which were reported for individuals with the same life context variable combinations but who have negative attitudes.

Table 28: The Effect of Attitudes on Social Network Patterns

Life Context Variable Combinations	Social Network Insulation of Individuals with Neutral Attitudes	Social Network Insulation of Individuals with Positive Attitudes	Social Network Insulation of Individuals with Negative Attitudes
+E, +S +E, 0S, +C	Frequent	Frequent	Mixed
+E, 0S, 0C +E, 0S, -C +E, -S, +C 0E, +S, +C 0E, +S, 0C	Mixed or Frequent	Frequent	Infrequent or Mixed
0E, +S, -C +E, -S, 0C 0E, 0S, +C +E, -S, -C 0E, 0S, 0C -E, +S, +C -E, 0S, +C	Mixed	Mixed or Frequent	Infrequent
0E, 0S, -C 0E, -S, +C -E, +S, 0C 0E, +S, 0C -E, +S, -C	Infrequent or Mixed	Mixed	None
0E, -S, -C -E, 0S, 0C -E, 0S, -C -E, -S	Infrequent	Infrequent or Mixed	None

7.3.3 Variation in Talysh Language Use

The processes and elements affecting patterns of Talysh language use were much more complex than for Talysh language proficiency or social networks. Talysh language use was said to be affected by (a) attitudes, (b) Talysh language proficiency (c) social network patterns and (d) the level of Talysh language proficiency present in the home. Each of these influences was said to help

determine which of the four patterns of Talysh language use an individual exhibited.⁶²

Attitudes were reported to be the most universally influential factor in patterns of Talysh language use. The two attitudinal influences which were reported to affect the insulation of individuals' social networks, the variables of ethnolinguistic identity and 'other attitudes', were said to affect language use patterns as well.

It was reported that regardless of an individual's social networks, language proficiency or the nature of their home environment, if their attitudes towards Talysh were negative, they were very unlikely to use Talysh anywhere. If either the identity factor or 'other attitudes' factor was negative this would likely result in low or no use of Talysh.

Since the Talysh language use profile was set to identify the use of Talysh as a major language of communication in various domains, this means that for the purposes of this thesis, individuals with negative attitudes can be classified as not exhibiting positive orientation towards Talysh in their patterns of Talysh language use. Thus, the four patterns of Talysh language use (with positive Talysh orientation) were said to be exhibited only by those with neutral or positive attitudes.⁶³

Given overall positive or neutral attitudes towards Talysh, Talysh language proficiency was said to be the next major determining influence in an individual's

⁶² The four patterns are those described in chapter 5: (a) use of Talysh at home with children and with adults as well as with adults socially, (b) use of Talysh with adults at home and socially, (c) use of Talysh with adults at home and (d) use of Talysh with adults socially.

⁶³ The labeling of attitudes as negative, neutral or positive follows the definitions given above in the assessment attitudes' effects on social networks. Positive attitudes are attributed to individuals who exhibit both positive ethnolinguistic identity and positive 'other' attitudes. Neutral attitudes are attributed to individuals who exhibit neutral ethnolinguistic identity and/or 'other' attitudes and neither of these variables is negative. Negative attitudes are attributed to individuals whose ethnolinguistic identity or 'other' attitudes are negative.

Talysh language use patterns. It was reported that unless an individual had good active Talysh language proficiency they were not very likely to use Talysh at home with their children.

The third major influence on Talysh language use was an individual's social networks. The less frequent Talysh individuals are in a person's social networks the less likely it was said they would be to use Talysh socially. This was the major cause of Talysh use only in the home.

These three generalizations lead to the following summary assessments of Talysh language use patterns:

(1) Talysh language use at home with children and adults is exhibited only by individuals with (a) overall neutral or positive attitudes and (b) good active Talysh language proficiency.

(2) Talysh language use with adults in the home and nowhere else is most commonly exhibited by individuals with (a) overall neutral or positive attitudes and (b) infrequent participation of Talysh speaking individuals in their social networks.

Two further influences were reported to affect patterns of Talysh language use. The first was the attitudinal influence of personal motivation. The second was the level of Talysh language proficiency present in the home. The following generalizations were reported:

(a) In order for individuals to use Talysh in the home, at least one individual (parent or other) in the home has to have good active Talysh language proficiency.

(b) Personal motivation has the potential to affect patterns of Talysh language use. An individual who has a great desire to use Talysh will use it in the home even if others only have low active or passive Talysh language proficiency.⁶⁴

Table 29 shows the interaction of these variables and the patterns of Talysh language use which they are said to most often produce.

Table 29: Variables and their Effects on Patterns of Talysh Language Use

	With All at Home and Adults Socially	With Adults at Home and Socially		With Adults at Home		With Adults Socially
Attitudes	Positive or Neutral	Positive or Neutral	Positive or Neutral	Positive or Neutral	Positive or Neutral	Positive or Neutral
Talysh Language Proficiency	Good Active	Low Active or Good Active	Low Active or Good Active	Low Active or Good Active	Low Active or Good Active	Low Active or Good Active
Talysh Speakers in Social Network	Mixed or Frequent	Mixed or Frequent	Mixed or Frequent	Infrequent or None	Infrequent or None	Mixed or Frequent
Level of Talysh Proficiency in Home	Good Active	Good Active	Passive or Low Active	Good Active	Passive or Low Active	Passive or Negligible
Personal Motivation	NA	NA	Present	NA	Present	NA

⁶⁴ These individuals have particularly strong positive attitudes towards Talysh. They make the use of Talysh at home a life goal.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

The data of this thesis suggest a move away from positive vernacular orientation in the Talysh community of Sumgayit. The more recently an individual was born into or migrated into the community, the less likely they are to exhibit positive vernacular orientation. Successive generations within the community are exhibiting decreasing levels of positive vernacular orientation. Similarly, recent migrants into the community are exhibiting lower levels of positive vernacular orientation than migrants who came to the community earlier. These trends are quite pronounced. Positive vernacular orientation seems to be rare among those who have been born into or have migrated into the community within the last decade. This is in stark contrast to the apparently high levels of positive vernacular orientation exhibited by those who were born into or migrated into the community 40-50 years ago.

A variety of factors were identified by members of the Talysh community of Sumgayit as closely connected to positive vernacular orientation. These factors point to the need for both (a) a context within which Talysh language use can be fostered and (b) individual attitudes which favour the use of Talysh.

The need for a context in which to foster Talysh language use was recognized most strongly in the connections made between (a) levels of Talysh language proficiency and the use of Talysh in the home, particularly during an

individual's childhood; and (b) levels of Talysh language use and opportunities to benefit personally from the use whether economically, socially or personally.

Positive vernacular orientation was said to be the result of a lifestyle in which Talysh is a meaningful part.

The role of individual attitudes was said to be important as well. Ethno-linguistic identity and personal motivation were two aspects of individual attitudes most specifically referred to as influential by Talysh interviewees. Positive vernacular orientation was said to be closely dependent on positive individual attitudes towards Talysh.

Perhaps the most important suggestion made by the data of this thesis was that the two elements of favourable context for use and positive individual attitudes are inextricably intertwined in their effect on vernacular orientation. The maintenance of positive vernacular orientation depends on the maintenance of context as well as individual attitudes.

The remainder of this conclusion will look at three questions:

1. What is the significance of the data of this thesis?
2. What is an appropriate response to the data of this thesis?
3. Where does one go from here?

8.1 The Significance of the Data

When compared to many other minority language situations around the world, it would seem that the Talysh community of Sumgayit presents a relatively common example of language shift. It is not uncommon for a minority community to experience a negative shift in vernacular orientation when living in close contact with a much larger majority. It is even quite common for this shift to take place relatively rapidly, over the course of several generations. The apparent causes of the shift in

vernacular orientation which is occurring among the Talysh of Sumgayit are also not uncommon. Erosion in contexts for language use and shift in individual attitudes towards the vernacular are common causes of such a shift. What then can be said concerning the significance of the research of this thesis?

This conclusion would like to suggest that the shift in vernacular orientation which is occurring in the Talysh community of Sumgayit is significant, not at the global but at the national level. Both the negative direction of the shift in vernacular orientation and the speed at which the shift is occurring carry great import when seen in light of sociolinguistic changes which are occurring within Talysh communities throughout the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Recent research among the Talysh communities in the traditional Talysh region of Azerbaijan has revealed a shift in vernacular orientation which is in many ways similar to that occurring in Sumgayit.⁶⁵ In the traditional Talysh region a negative shift in vernacular orientation is occurring in areas where contact with the non-Talysh speaking world is growing. This shift is occurring more rapidly among younger generations.

Since contact is the catalyst of this shift, some Talysh communities are experiencing it more intensely and more rapidly than others. The most intense and rapid experience of the shift is found in lowland urban areas where interaction with the non-Talysh speaking world is frequently available. In contrast, mountainous,

⁶⁵ In 2000 and 2001 extensive research was conducted in over 20 Talysh villages and towns within the traditional Talysh districts of Astara, Lenkaran, Lerik and Masalli as well as districts bordering these traditional ones: Yardimli, Calilabad and Neftchala. The purpose of this research was to identify patterns of language use, language proficiency and individual attitudes towards language. The languages of focus were Talysh, Azerbaijani and Russian. The results of this research are scheduled to be published in late 2003 by SIL International. The comments here are based on the results of this research.

less populous locations are experiencing the shift much less intensely and more slowly.

When compared to the shift in vernacular orientation which is occurring in the traditional Talysh region of Azerbaijan, the shift in the Talysh community of Sumgayit can be seen as a pronounced example of a general shift exhibited by all Talysh communities in Azerbaijan. When viewed from this perspective, the data of this thesis takes on particular significance. The Talysh community in Sumgayit provides an opportunity to gain an understanding of sociolinguistic forces which are affecting all Talysh communities in Azerbaijan. These forces can be seen at their most extreme in the highly urban context of context of Sumgayit in which contact with the non-Talysh speaking world is very frequent.

The data of this thesis also carries significance beyond the opportunity to understand trends within the greater Talysh community of Azerbaijan. The highly multicultural context of Sumgayit allows for the sociolinguistic trends within the Talysh community in the city to be compared to trends within Sumgayit's other minority communities. This comparison has implications at the national level.

Azerbaijan is a nation of numerous minorities. At the national level, all of these minorities are experiencing a negative shift in vernacular orientation. However, they are experiencing it at different rates. Some, like the Talysh, are experiencing this shift quite strongly. Others seem to be experiencing it more slowly. A cursory analysis of these differing rates of shift would seem to indicate that, as with the Talysh, level of contact with the non-vernacular speaking world is the main cause. However, a closer examination does not bear this up. Several of the minority people groups in the Republic of Azerbaijan, in spite of similar contact

patterns to those experienced by the Talysh, are not exhibiting nearly as rapid a shift in vernacular orientation as that of the Talysh.

The Lezgi of Azerbaijan are a good example of this difference. They are the second largest people group in Azerbaijan after the Talysh. The traditional Lezgi region shares many of the same contact dynamics as the Talysh. Some locations are quite isolated while others have frequent contact with the non-Lezgi speaking world. At the heart of the Lezgi region, Lezgis represent the majority of the population and most of the population centres are 95-99% ethno-linguistically Lezgi. At the periphery of the region population centres can be more mixed, some even having less Lezgi individuals than non-Lezgi in their population. As with the Talysh, these periphery locations are experiencing the negative shift in vernacular orientation more than the central locations. This shift is felt more by younger generations than older.

The similarity in demographics and contact dynamics within the Lezgi region and the Talysh region would lead to the expectation that both regions would exhibit similar patterns of sociolinguistic change. The facts indicate differently. The Lezgi region is experiencing the negative shift in vernacular orientation much more slowly than the Talysh region. At the national level, hypotheses can be constructed to explain this difference but it is difficult to truly make a comparison as the two regions are not exactly identical. It is here that the city of Sumgayit has great significance. It provides a context in which the Talysh and Lezgi communities can be compared in an identical context. What is learned in this context can lead to informed hypotheses about the differences seen at the national level. The data of this thesis is one step towards this kind of comparison.

8.2 An Appropriate Response to the Data

The most common response to revelations of a negative shift in vernacular orientation in a community is a call for attempts to reverse the shift. It is often considered a negative trend when a community loses its vernacular orientation. However, in the case of the Talysh of Sumgayit, the situation is not cut and dried. An appropriate response to the situation needs to take into account the nature of the Talysh community's own response to the sociolinguistic change which is occurring. Some key questions must be considered before a response can be suggested. First, how does the Talysh community itself feel about these sociolinguistic changes? Second, in light of these feelings, should attempts be made to reverse these changes? Thirdly, if so, can these changes conceivably be reversed?

In answering these questions, it is very important to place the sociolinguistic changes in the Talysh community of Sumgayit in a proper perspective. The negative shift in vernacular orientation which is occurring in the community does not exist in a sociolinguistic vacuum. There is another side to the coin. As positive vernacular orientation has decreased, positive orientation towards Azerbaijani has increased. In fact, it may be more useful to express these two shifts in the reverse manner. Azerbaijani orientation has rapidly improved and a negative shift in vernacular orientation has been one of the results of this shift in Azerbaijani orientation.

When viewed from this perspective, the negative shift in vernacular orientation is a passive effect of the active increase in Azerbaijani orientation. Talysh individuals are actively seeking to improve their Azerbaijani proficiency, to use Azerbaijani more and to function effectively in a mostly Azerbaijani speaking state. They want their children to have the best opportunities for education,

employment and quality of life. The Azerbaijani language is the key to these opportunities. The majority of Talysh individuals are not actively deciding to stop using Talysh or not teach their children Talysh. When asked, most would prefer a world in which their children could speak Talysh and Azerbaijani very well and often. However, if they had to choose just one language, they would prefer to have good Azerbaijani proficiency and be able to use it freely.

This intense interest in Azerbaijani at the unfortunate cost of Talysh has a deep historical, social and political basis. For the Talysh people, Azerbaijani has been the sole language of education and media for almost a century. Unlike Lezgi, Avar, Tsakhur and other minority languages of Azerbaijan, Talysh has only recently been given state recognition of status as a language of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Within Soviet Azerbaijan the Talysh language was not recognized as a language in which individuals could receive schooling, print newspapers, broadcast radio or television programs in or conduct community affairs. Other languages such as Lezgi and Avar were given these opportunities.

The result, following a 70 year period of Soviet rule, has been a series of generations who have grown up in a sociolinguistic context in which Talysh has had an inferior status to Azerbaijani and even other minority languages. This has led to Talysh communities which feel a pressing need to access Azerbaijani language and culture in order to improve their status. Economic and educational advancement for the Talysh people has been directly tied to the Azerbaijani language.

In this context, most Talysh view loss of the vernacular as a dear but acceptable price to pay for the opportunity to enter the world of Azerbaijani and the opportunity it offers. When asked if they regret the loss of Talysh, the answer is most often 'yes'. However, interest in reversing this loss is expressed as an interest

not only in strengthening positive vernacular orientation but at the same time in providing opportunity to pursue economic, educational and recreational activities through Talysh. Strengthening vernacular orientation without an expansion of a beneficial context within which Talysh can be used is not desired by most Talysh individuals. This returns us to the indications made by the data of this thesis that both a context for Talysh language use and positive individual attitudes are needed in order for positive vernacular orientation to grow in the community.

In light of these opinions, the answer to the question of whether reversing the negative shift in language orientation is desirable has two parts. In short, reversing the shift is desirable. The Talysh community itself desires it. However, the means by which the reverse is to be implemented must include the creation of opportunities to improve the community's quality of life through Talysh. This is where difficulties are most often identified. The claim is made by many individuals in the community that a context for Talysh language use is an element which they have very little control over. Most would like vernacular orientation to remain strong in the community but feel the sociolinguistic environment in which they live does not allow for this.

It is the opinion of this thesis, that contrary to the opinions of the community, the creation of a context for Talysh language use, within Sumgayit is not something which is completely out of the control of the community. This thesis would like to make three suggestions:

a) The negative shift in vernacular orientation which is occurring in the Talysh community of Sumgayit should be reversed.

b) This reversal should include the creation of opportunities for using Talysh in a beneficial context.

c) Contrary to popular opinion within the community, the creation of these opportunities can and should come from within as well as without the community.

What can be done to create these opportunities? It is the conclusion of this thesis that the Talysh community of Sumgayit may see vernacular orientation all but disappear within this next generation. This process could be reversed but it would require the creation of a sociolinguistic 'infrastructure' which includes facilities such as schools, community centres, theatres, newspapers, and media outlets which would provide a means for Talysh individuals to make Talysh a meaningful part of their lives.

Many of these kinds of facilities have already been started. Various clubs, societies and community centres which allow for the development of the Talysh language and its use already exist in Sumgayit and the greater metropolitan Baku area. Talysh individuals should support these institutions and organizations. These opportunities which already exist are not being used. Other infrastructural elements such as newspapers and media also exist, albeit on a smaller and less financially stable foundation. There are several Talysh language newspapers which are currently being published by private individuals. These should be much more widely supported and used by the community.

Assistance from outside the community would be greatly beneficial to the reversal of the negative shift in vernacular orientation as well. Grants from governmental and non-governmental organizations for the publication of books in the Talysh language and the operation of small Talysh language schools would play a very important role.

8.3 Looking Ahead to Future Research

The research conducted for this thesis has by no means exhausted all that can be learned of the Talysh community of Sumgayit. Ongoing research is needed. As suggested above, research not only on the Talysh community but also comparative research on other minority communities in Sumgayit is needed. As well, the hypotheses put forth by this thesis need further study themselves. Being qualitative in nature, this thesis focused on the creation of hypotheses concerning patterns of vernacular orientation in the Talysh community of Sumgayit. These hypotheses would benefit from quantitative study.

Most importantly, however, it is of vital importance that what has been learned about the Talysh community is used to benefit the community. Further research needs to be conducted into ways of helping the community achieve a sociolinguistic reality in which they can use Talysh in a beneficial manner.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: GENERAL INFORMATION FORM⁶⁶

GENERAL INFORMATION		
1. RESEARCHER	2. DATE	3. LOCATION
4. ID	-	-

BASIC DEMOGRAPHICS		
5. NAME	6. GENDER M F	7. DATE OF BIRTH
8. BIRTH PLACE	9A. PLACES LIVED	9B. HOW LONG?
10. NUMBER IN FAMILY	11. TIME IN SUMGAYIT	12. SPOUSE FROM
13. FATHER FROM	14. FATHER'S FATHER FROM	15. FATHER'S MOTHER FROM
16. MOTHER FROM	17. MOTHER'S FATHER FROM	18. MOTHER'S MOTHER FROM
19. PROFESSION	20A. OCCUPATION	20B. HOW LONG?
21. WHO OF FAMILY IN SUMGAYIT?	22. CONTACT INFORMATION	

LIFE IN SUMGAYIT		
23. WHY LIVE IN SUMGAYIT?	24. WHAT IS GOOD ABOUT LIVING IN SUMGAYIT?	25. NOT GOOD?
26. HOW HAS SUMGAYIT CHANGED IN THE LAST 5/10/20 YEARS?		

TALYSH CONTACTS IN SUMGAYIT			
27A. NAME	27B. AGE	27C. M / F	27D. GENERATION
27E. OCCUPATION	27F. ETHNICITY OF SPOUSE	27G. LIVES WHERE?	
27H. RELATIONSHIP	27I. HOW DID YOU MEET?		
28A. NAME	28B. AGE	28C. M / F	28D. GENERATION
28E. OCCUPATION	28F. ETHNICITY OF SPOUSE	28G. LIVES WHERE?	
28H. RELATIONSHIP	28I. HOW DID YOU MEET?		

TALYSH FAMILY DEMOGRAPHICS			
29A. NAME	29B. RELATION	29C. AGE	29D. M / F
29E. 1 ST LANGUAGE LEARNED	29F. HOME LANGUAGE	29G. MOST FLUENT LANGUAGE	29H. GENERATION
30A. NAME	30B. RELATION	30C. AGE	30D. M / F
30E. 1 ST LANGUAGE LEARNED	30F. HOME LANGUAGE	30G. MOST FLUENT LANGUAGE	30H. GENERATION
31A. NAME	31B. RELATION	31C. AGE	31D. M / F
31E. 1 ST LANGUAGE LEARNED	31F. HOME LANGUAGE	31G. MOST FLUENT LANGUAGE	31H. GENERATION
32A. NAME	32B. RELATION	32C. AGE	32D. M / F
32E. 1 ST LANGUAGE LEARNED	32F. HOME LANGUAGE	32G. MOST FLUENT LANGUAGE	32H. GENERATION

⁶⁶ The forms in these appendices are not identical in appearance to those used in research, having been shrunk in size so as to fit into the constraints of this publication. The questions found on these forms are, however, identical to those used in research.

APPENDIX 2: TALYSH LANGUAGE USE FORM

TALYSH LANGUAGE USE FORM		
1. RESEARCHER	2. DATE	3. LOCATION
4. ID	-	-

TALYSH LANGUAGE USE INFORMATION
5A. WITH WHOM DO YOU USE TALYSH THE MOST?
5B. WHEN DID YOU LAST USE TALYSH WITH THEM?
5C. WHERE WERE YOU?
5D. IS THIS USUALLY WHERE YOU ARE WHEN YOU SPEAK TALYSH WITH THEM?
5E. HOW OFTEN DO YOU USE TALYSH WITH THIS PERSON?
5F. WOULD THIS PERSON USE TALYSH WITH OTHERS?
5G. WHERE?
6A. WHO ELSE DO YOU USE TALYSH WITH?
6B. WHERE?
6C. HOW OFTEN?
6D. DO THEY USE TALYSH WITH OTHERS?
6E. WHERE?
7A. ARE THERE CERTAIN PLACES WHERE YOU USE TALYSH?
7B. HOW OFTEN?
7C. WITH WHOM?
7D. DO OTHERS USE TALYSH IN THIS PLACE?
7E. WHO?
7F. DO THEY USE IT HERE AS OFTEN AS YOU DO?
7G. DOES ANYONE IN THESE PLACES NOT SPEAK TALYSH?
7H. DESCRIBE THESE PLACES
8. ARE THERE CERTAIN KINDS OF PEOPLE YOU SPEAK TALYSH WITH?
9. HOW TYPICAL ARE YOU IN YOUR TALYSH USE COMPARED TO OTHERS YOUR AGE?
10. COMPARED TO THE COMMUNITY?

PERSONAL PATTERNS OF INTERPERSONAL TALYSH USE (%)						
	BIRTH – 6 YRS.	7-16 YRS.	17-30 YRS.	31-45 YRS.	46 TO 60 YRS.	60+ YRS.
FAMILY						
TALYSH						
GENERAL						

TYPICAL PATTERNS OF INTERPERSONAL TALYSH USE (%) FOR AGE GROUP						
	BIRTH – 6 YRS.	7-16 YRS.	17-30 YRS.	31-45 YRS.	46 TO 60 YRS.	60+ YRS.
FAMILY						
TALYSH						
GENERAL						

APPENDIX 3: TALYSH PROFICIENCY FORM

TALYSH PROFICIENCY FORM		
1. RESEARCHER	2. DATE	3. LOCATION
4. ID	-	-

TALYSH PROFICIENCY INFORMATION			
5. HOW WELL DO YOU SPEAK TALYSH?			
6A. DO YOU KNOW SOMEONE WHO SPEAKS TALYSH A LITTLE BETTER THAN YOU?			
7A. SOMEONE WHO SPEAKS A LOT BETTER?			
8A. DO YOU KNOW SOMEONE WHO SPEAKS TALYSH A LITTLE WORSE THAN YOU?			
9A. SOMEONE WHO SPEAKS A LOT WORSE?			
10A. SOMEONE WHO SPEAKS EQUALLY WELL?			
6B. RELATION	6C. M/ F	6D. AGE	6E. TIME IN SUMGAYIT
6F. TYPICAL OF AGE GROUP?		6G. TYPICAL OF COMMUNITY?	
6H. DESCRIBE THIS PERSON (INTERMARRIAGE, OCCUPATION, GENERATION, FAMILY)			
7B. RELATION	7C. M/ F	7D. AGE	7E. TIME IN SUMGAYIT
7F. TYPICAL OF AGE GROUP?		7G. TYPICAL OF COMMUNITY?	
7H. DESCRIBE THIS PERSON (INTERMARRIAGE, OCCUPATION, GENERATION, FAMILY)			
8B. RELATION	8C. M/ F	8D. AGE	8E. TIME IN SUMGAYIT
8F. TYPICAL OF AGE GROUP?		8G. TYPICAL OF COMMUNITY?	
8H. DESCRIBE THIS PERSON (INTERMARRIAGE, OCCUPATION, GENERATION, FAMILY)			
9B. RELATION	9C. M/ F	9D. AGE	9E. TIME IN SUMGAYIT
9F. TYPICAL OF AGE GROUP?		9G. TYPICAL OF COMMUNITY?	
9H. DESCRIBE THIS PERSON (INTERMARRIAGE, OCCUPATION, GENERATION, FAMILY)			
10B. RELATION	10C. M/ F	10D. AGE	10E. TIME IN SUMGAYIT
10F. TYPICAL OF AGE GROUP?		10G. TYPICAL OF COMMUNITY?	
10H. DESCRIBE THIS PERSON (INTERMARRIAGE, OCCUPATION, GENERATION, FAMILY)			
5B. TYPICAL OF AGE GROUP?		5C. TYPICAL OF COMMUNITY?	

FAMILY TALYSH PROFICIENCY	
11. WHO IN YOUR FAMILY SPEAKS TALYSH THE BEST?	12. THE LEAST BEST?
13. HOW DO YOU COMPARE WITH FAMILY MEMBERS IN YOUR TALYSH LEVELS?	
14A. IS YOUR FAMILY TYPICAL IN THE LEVELS OF TALYSH THEY HAVE?	
14B. WHAT MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO THE TYPICALITY OF YOUR FAMILY?	
15A. DO YOU KNOW A FAMILY WHO IS DIFFERENT THAN YOURS IN THEIR TALYSH PROFICIENCY?	
15B. HOW ARE THEY TYPICAL OR ATYPICAL	15C. WHAT MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO THEIR TYPICALITY?

COMMUNITY TALYSH PROFICIENCY (%)						
GENERATION	0-6	7-16	17-30	31-45	46-60	61+
1ST						
2ND						
3RD						

APPENDIX 4: SOCIAL NETWORK FORM

SOCIAL NETWORK FORM				
1. RESEARCHER		2. DATE		3. LOCATION
4. ID - - -				

SOCIAL NETWORK INFORMATION				
5. NAME FIVE PEOPLE YOU MEET EVERY DAY OTHER THAN YOUR FAMILY.				
5A. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TALYSH?	
5B. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TALYSH?	
5C. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TALYSH?	
5D. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TALYSH?	
5E. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TALYSH?	
6. NAME FIVE PEOPLE YOU MEET AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK OTHER THAN THE ABOVE AND YOUR FAMILY.				
6A. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TALYSH?	
6B. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TALYSH?	
6C. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TALYSH?	
6D. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TALYSH?	
6E. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TALYSH?	
7. NAME FIVE PEOPLE YOU MEET AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH OTHER THAN THE ABOVE AND YOUR FAMILY.				
7A. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TALYSH?	
7B. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TALYSH?	
7C. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TALYSH?	

7D. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F	AGE
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TALYSH?		
7E. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F	AGE
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TALYSH?		
8. NAME FIVE TALYSH YOU MEET AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK OTHER THAN THE ABOVE AND YOUR FAMILY.					
8A. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F	AGE
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	LOCATION OF ORIGIN		
8B. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F	AGE
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	LOCATION OF ORIGIN		
8C. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F	AGE
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	LOCATION OF ORIGIN		
8D. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F	AGE
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	LOCATION OF ORIGIN		
8E. NAME		TIME KNOWN	TIME IN SUMGAYIT	GENDER M / F	AGE
GENERATION	CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	LOCATION OF ORIGIN		

SOCIAL NETWORK TYPICALITY INFORMATION
9. DESCRIBE THOSE OF THE ABOVE WHO ARE TALYSH (FAMILY BACKGROUND, OCCUPATION, ETC.)
10. HOW DID YOU MEET THESE INDIVIDUALS?
11. DO THESE INDIVIDUALS SPEAK TALYSH? HOW WELL?
12A. HOW TYPICAL ARE YOU, COMPARED TO THESE INDIVIDUALS, IN THE NUMBER OF TALYSH SPEAKING INDIVIDUALS WITH WHOM YOU HAVE CONTACT?
12B. COMPARED TO THOSE YOUR AGE?
12C. COMPARED TO THE COMMUNITY?
13A. HOW TYPICAL ARE THESE INDIVIDUALS COMPARED TO THE OTHERS WITH WHOM YOU HAVE FREQUENT CONTACT?
13B. COMPARED TO THOSE THEIR AGE?
13C. COMPARED TO THE COMMUNITY?

APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEWED SUBJECT TYPES

A Guide to the Type Labels

Talysh Proficiency Labels	Talysh Language Use Labels	Social Network Insulation Labels
G: Good Active L: Low Active P: Passive N: Negligible	C: Use with Children in Home, Adults in home and Adults Socially A: Use with Adults in Home and Socially S: Use with Adults Socially H: Use with Adults in Home X: No Use	F: Frequent Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals M: Mixed Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals I: Infrequent Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals N: Non Participation of Talysh Speaking Individuals

A List of Talysh Interview Subjects

Subject #	Age Category	Gender	Arrival/Birth Category	Type
1	31-45	M	1B	GAM
2	31-45	F	1A	GCM
3	45-60	F	1B	LSM
4	45-60	F	2A	PSM
5	45-60	F	1A	LCF
6	31-45	M	1D	LHI
7	31-45	M	1B	GAF
8	31-45	M	3B	LHM
9	7-16	M	3D	PXI
10	17-30	M	1C	LHI
11	17-30	M	2C	LAF
12	31-45	F	1C	LAM
13	31-45	F	1A	LCM
14	31-45	F	2A	GAM
15	7-16	F	1D	GAM
16	31-45	M	1B	LAM
17	45-60	M	1A	GCM
18	17-30	F	1D	LAM
19	31-45	M	3B	LNI
20	45-60	M	2A	GAF
21	45-60	F	1A	GCF

A List of Talysh Interview Subjects (cont.)

Subject #	Age Category	Gender	Arrival/Birth Category	Type
22	31-45	F	2A	LSI
23	7-16	M	2D	PXM
24	7-16	F	3C	LHI
25	31-45	M	1A	GAM
26	45-60	M	2A	GAF
27	7-16	M	2D	LAF
28	31-45	F	2B	GAM
29	17-30	F	2C	PHI
30	17-30	M	1C	PSN
31	45-60	M	1D	GHI
32	60+	M	1D	PSM
33	31-45	M	2B	LHM
34	60+	M	1A	GCF
35	17-30	F	1C	GAM
36	7-16	M	2C	LHM
37	31-45	M	3B	LAF
38	45-60	M	1C	GHI
39	45-60	M	1A	GCM
40	31-45	F	2B	GAF
41	31-45	F	3B	LHI
42	31-45	M	3C	LXN
43	45-60	M	1A	LSI
44	45-60	M	1A	LHI
45	40-60	M	1A	GAF
46	7-16	M	2D	LHM
47	7-16	M	1D	LHI
48	31-45	M	3B	PHI
49	17-30	M	1C	GHI

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